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INDIA-BURMA

LAYMEN'S FOREIGN MISSIONS INQUIRY

REGIONAL REPORTS
OF THE
COMMISSION OF APPRAISAL

INDIA-BURMA

VOLUME I
SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES
PART ONE

ORVILLE A. PETTY, EDITOR



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Editorial Note

THE Supplementary Series to *Re-Thinking Missions* (the Report of the Commission of Appraisal) consists of the collateral data of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry selected for publication:

Part One:

Volume I—India-Burma, "Regional Reports" of the Commission of Appraisal

Volume II—China, "Regional Reports" of the Commission of Appraisal

Volume III—Japan, "Regional Reports" of the Commission of Appraisal

Part Two:

Volume IV—India-Burma, "Fact-Finders' Reports" (selected material)

Volume V—China, "Fact-Finders' Reports" (selected material)

Volume VI—Japan, "Fact-Finders' Reports" (selected material)

Volume VII—Home Base and Missionary Personnel, "Fact-Finders' Reports"

Other data (unprinted) is deposited with the Missionary Research Library in New York City, and is available for reference.

Part One contains contributions on special topics by the authors of *Re-Thinking Missions*. Various sub-committees are primarily responsible for the construction of these Regional Reports, which, however, were adjusted to criticisms and suggestions of the Commission of Appraisal at its regular meetings. Editorial changes have been approved by the sub-committee concerned. The collateral data appended to Chapters have been selected by the Editor.

Part Two contains selected material from the data collected and classified by the Fact-Finders who made up the Inquiry's Research Staff which operated under the direction of the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York. These and other Fact-Finder data were used by the Commission of Appraisal and reviewed on the field.

O. A. P.

INTRODUCTION

by

WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING

THE Commission of Appraisal sent out by the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry realized from the beginning that its experiences and findings could not be reported in detail within the limits of one volume. It had, therefore, in mind a report in two sections. There should be one volume in which the major results were summarized. And there should be a supplement to this volume, in which much of the concrete detail, necessarily omitted from a compact report, could be presented.

The original conception of this supplementary material was simply a second volume, which should itself be a summary of the work and findings of the several sub-committees into which the Commission resolved itself for its studies in the field. These sub-committees, pursuing itineraries relatively independent of one another within each of the three countries studied, came together three times to present their findings to the Commission. After the studies of India and Burma, we assembled in Kandy for a week of such review; after the studies of China, we assembled in Nara; after the studies of Japan, we reviewed the several studies on the steamer and in Honolulu.

It is important to note that there was no intention, at the time these Regional Reports were offered to the Commission, that they would be made public. They were simply a method adopted by the Commission for bringing the superabundant material of the experiences of its members into form for discussion, and for formulating recommendations. It was supposed that from them certain chapters would be derived for the supplementary report. It was also foreseen that from them would very probably originate more detailed writings by individual members of the Commission; for we early realized that it was not possible for the Commission as a whole to review fully the experiences of all, perhaps not of any, of its members, and that much of great value would necessarily be presented only in highly condensed form. The Regional Reports, therefore, were regarded rather as substantial sketches than as finished pieces of work; and while every recommendation contained in them was carefully reviewed by

the entire Commission, the basic material was considered—and is considered—in each case the work of the reporting sub-committee.

It was inevitable that these Regional Reports should constitute the most available form for the supplementary report. It was inevitable also that to make them available for publication they should require much editorial labor, and in some cases much additional work on the part of dispersed and preoccupied members of the Commission. It was an unhopèd-for piece of good-fortune that it was possible to secure the invaluable aid of Dr. Orville A. Petty for the guidance of this labor.

The ideal of the one-volume summary, so far as it was realized in the volume *Re-Thinking Missions*, carried with it certain sacrifices, two of which have resulted in misapprehension. It was necessary to sacrifice, very largely, any adequate review of the history of missions, either as a whole, or under the several phases of evangelism, education, medicine, etc. On this account the Report suggested a lesser historical perspective than was really present to its authors.* It was also necessary to sacrifice narrative and illustrative material, whether as illustrating what the Commission felt to be defects in mission work, or as illustrating those phases which, in its judgment, had in them the promise of the future. Hence the Report suggested a degree of innovation which is beyond the fact; for there are throughout the mission fields studied many exemplifications, whether in germ or in full flower, of the principles there recommended.

These supplementary volumes will atone for these inevitable omissions. They will provide concrete pictures of the working mission, which is also the growing and changing mission, in its historical setting. Some of the findings barely outlined in the Report will here be developed and explained. From them will be more fully apparent the affirmative and constructive spirit of the Commission; the ground for its criticisms; and the fact that criticism, a necessary phase of its judicial function, is offered not for its own sake, but as the necessary pivot for the changes demanded by the present era.

The preliminary stage of Protestant missions in the Orient is past: a new stage is opening. The many clear-sighted men in the field, and the clear-sighted guides in its official councils, fully realize this truth. They best serve the cause who announce this truth in unmistakable terms. It is not superfluous to add that the necessity for change is wholly consistent with the changelessness of the fundamental message of Christianity and of the fundamental need of the human soul. It is the

* See "The Background and the Objectives of Protestant Foreign Missions," by Rufus M. Jones, Vol. II, Supplementary Series.

element of changelessness in central religious truth which requires,—I do not say permits, but *requires*,—changes in method and policy as the world changes, and as our conceptions of Christianity develop. These are truisms. Yet there are halting places in many minds, as they consider the proposals of the Report, which apparently derive from a belief that loyalty implies stagnation; or that finality implies the absence of inner growth. It may therefore not be out of place here to add a few words in the effort to meet these difficulties.

It is one thing to be modest about our attainments in Christianity,—we have every reason to be modest. It is quite another thing to be modest about Christianity itself. We have perpetually to distinguish between *its* certainties and finalities, and the partialities of our own achievements, insights, expressions. The one is unchanging; the latter is continual growth, unless our Christianity has fallen into the fixity of death. It is *because* religious verity is final and unchanging that our appreciation of it must forever grow.

But we, too, are capable of certainty; we live by such certainty as we can reach. It is a privilege of human nature to come to moments of certainty, far in advance of our ability to make that certainty effective. Religious certainty has in the highest degree this prophetic quality: it looks far and away beyond the morass of present failures to the assured future achievement. It may have no formula for social or personal solutions; but it has the living germ from which all valid formulae must be begotten.

If one has within him that germ, it is already, to him, “the victory which overcometh the world,” and he craves to take the world as the testing ground of the reality of his experience. It is the same thing as the love Paul speaks about, which believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; if that love lives in one as a burning fire, it constitutes an inner imperative to go and to give, seeking out the regions where giving is most difficult. The religious mission is not oblivious to the bungling dulness and inadequacy of Christianity at home; but it is not governed by them; it puts its world-consciousness first,—it cannot escape doing so, and it finds by instinct the places where the major barriers to spiritual understanding exist, and the major impediments to human growth, so that the divine spirit of release which is in it may display its unbounded power.

The mission, then, is based on a religious certainty and imperative,—not first of all on a humane disposition toward distant lands. The Christian’s impulse of good-will is the offspring of that love and

certainty which have been begotten in him; and through whatever cup of cold water he may offer, that spirit, if it really lives, must infallibly speak with a voice that needs no other vehicle. Every such assurance and imperative "call" must be in the nature of the case an individual experience; but its occasion is likely to be the prior assurance and imperative of the church; and it requires to be stabilized and confirmed through unison with the church as the living conscience of Christendom, its objective authority.

But let the church once *organize* this work of missions, committing itself to "fields" which must be cultivated, and to "work" which must be carried forward: then these external facts begin to set up requirements of their own. It is no longer the inspired person who seeks the aid of the institution; it is the institution which makes its search for "personnel." This is the paradox and dilemma of all great movements, most deeply difficult for a movement whose essence is the breath of the spirit of God.

It is of no use putting out nets for the able and scholarly, canvassing the college youth for candidates of high ability. Ability and training there must be; but they do not of themselves constitute an inner imperative and flame. What "the work" wants is applicants, not candidates. And such spontaneous applicants have to be born out of the certainties of the church, not assembled through any well-conducted "campaign."

But the certainties of the church, where are they? And what is their source? If they flag,—because we have been guilty of that original confusion, mistaking our expressions of Christianity for Christianity itself,—they cannot be revived by any desperate recall to *those* loyalties, which are in reality mere loyalties to ourselves, not to Christ. The only result of such appeals is to make us, for a moment, *feel* more certain than we *are*, while the needy world groans at the papable subjectivity of our performance. The rebirth of certainty can only come, first by a patient and unreserved encounter with all the *uncertainties*, all the intellectual enemies of religious confidence, and then by a deepened prayer of the heart for a contemporary touch of the reality of God.

It is not without significance that the discussion of a report on missions, intended to indicate in the concrete certain desirable directions of change, should have focussed itself upon questions of theology.

The Report* has its theological elements, but the specific recommendations of the Report are freely separable from such theological sketches as it contains; these recommendations have all been put forward in principle by other observers from time to time on widely various theological grounds. The Report is offered, not as a welded unity, but for discrimination and selection, for consideration piece by piece as it may merit, for such use as the church may be able to make of it. There was no need for concentrating on its theology, but that has happened.

The Report *has* its theological elements: to those who question whether Christianity has anything distinctive to say to the Orient,—and there are such—the Report gives an extended answer. It answers in the language of laymen, and so far as may be, in the language of those very questioners: “This much, and more besides —,” so the Report proposes, “—at least this, Christianity has to offer.” But it makes no attempt to state a system of theology, nor even to define the full faith of any of its members. In two senses, then, there is no such thing as “the theology of the Report”; there is no complete statement of theology; and there is not one theology, but a working union of fifteen theologies, conservative and liberal together. Nevertheless, in various quarters, the Report is judged on the basis of “its theology,” assumed to be of a partisan “liberal” type.

Now it is easy, in the first place, to see how such a misapprehension arises and to meet it. Fifteen people, wide apart in their view of the full meaning of Christianity, find themselves, after a year of common experience and thought, aware of a large kernel of agreement on the basis of which they can cooperate and co-judge. Is not this kernel their composite creed? It may seem so; but it is not so. This kernel is less than anybody’s full faith;—how could a *kernel* be the full faith of anyone? Further, the kernel was not considered, as sometimes such common-grounds have been considered—“the essence of Christianity”; nobody, in affirming the nucleus as a genuine *part* of his faith, abandoned his divergent and additional views, nor regarded them as unessential. These divergencies were thrice expressly pointed out, and their importance re-affirmed.** If anyone takes this nucleus to be “the theology of the Report” he will naturally find that theology unsatisfactory, as the palm of the hand, without fingers, would be a highly unsatisfactory hand. We would join in his discontent!

We have made a quite contrary assumption; namely, that fingers are essential, that *differences are essential*; and that all issues of creed

* *Re-Thinking Missions.*

** *Op. cit.*, pp. xiv, xv, 85, 86, 323, 324.

must ultimately be faced. We are therefore precisely *not* on the ground of former tolerant liberalism of indifference, really based on a nerveless and anaemic attitude toward truth. We are facing toward a remedy of the scandal of Protestant divisiveness; but a remedy without compromise, without that faithless and inwardly contemptuous "toleration."

How is this possible? By admitting *time* into the solution, and by remembering that *coöperation is a mode of thinking*.

If, as holding differing creeds, we sit down about a table to find a formula of agreement, we shall exhaust the resources of linguistic ambiguity and satisfy no one. But suppose that instead of seeking agreeable words, we seek concordant action! Suppose that we are content to *begin with the simplicities of faith*, rather than with the profundities; and then to engage in the long conversation of cooperative activity, in which what we vainly try to say in words finds slowly its due translation into deeds and the spirit of deeds! Then what we truly mean will make itself felt, and we shall *work our way* into unitedness of thought.

For this process, we need a renewal of the patience of Jesus, who often spoke of the conditions of entering the Kingdom, but always in the simplest terms—"except ye become as little children." . . . I think of Bishop Logan Roots, who one evening in Shanghai answered the difficult question: "How, after many years as a missionary, does your aim present itself to you?" He answered me, after a pause, "*Friendship!*" Then he added, "But friendship is only perfected at the foot of the Cross." He has the method of Jesus, the art of beginning with the germ, and allowing time for the fruit. There is no compromise nor toleration here; there is liberality of spirit with no partisan "liberalism"; there is virility of faith and the certainty that can wait!

But the insistence that the Report has "a theology" and that this theology is the chief issue, has a deeper basis. It is a symptom of a profound solicitude of faith,—a solicitude long since lurking in the souls of men; the Report is but an unimportant occasion for its expression. Its instinct is true; the Report will ultimately stand or fall as it has grasped or failed to grasp the central meaning of Christianity to the world of men.

And for what this conception is, we need not depend upon the *words* of the Report;—there are the *attitudes* it holds: toward other religions; toward the church; toward the place of evangelization in the philanthropic and educational work of the mission. Is not a

theology implied in these attitudes? Does the Report not recommend recognition of and alliance with elements of religious truth in Buddhism and other non-Christian faiths? Does it not deplore pressing forward the church as a primary aim? Does it not suggest that hospitals, schools, rural stations should not be used as a means to attract and retain an audience for the formal preaching of the gospel? And are not these attitudes, one and all, the symptoms of a hesitant and feeble, a tolerant and weakly "liberal" Christianity, from whose soul conviction has fled?

I answer as before, Just the contrary. One who thus judges the Report is simply failing to recognize, because of certain superficial similarities of appearance, a radical difference of substance.

Alliance with the non-Christian, a willingness to receive as well as to give, may be the mark of a softly accommodating and irresolute turn of mind, destined to meaningless eclecticism. It may be the mark of a soul too strong in its inner certainties, too clear in its sense of right and wrong, to fear deflection and compromise; it may be the sign of a noble justice, as fearful of condemning the good as of condoning the evil; it may be the living spirit of Christ, willing to speak to the hearts of men rather than to their labels and traditions. It is not great faith,—it is little faith,—which cannot trust itself to natural companionship and the generous recognition of spiritual worth where it exists, not admit its need to learn, even from those it would teach, nor believe in the inherent power of the best to approve itself the best! It is not real Christianity, it is verbal Christianity, which cannot see that to serve men in the spirit of Christ is to preach Christ; that Christian philanthropy is eternally distinct from secular; and that to go about doing good is for the Christian to make the natural occasions for that living and personal word which is the life of the gospel.

The position of the Report toward theology is not the liberalism of the past; it is the Catholicity of the future. It appeals to the conservative to remain conservative in the true sense of conserving, not of excluding; of holding fast that which is good, not as rejecting spiritual comradeship with those who as yet hold fewer articles of faith. It appeals to the Catholic to broaden and strengthen his catholicity, until it can reunite the shattered fragments of the church of Christ. It appeals to all Christians to believe that the true majesty of the faith is but beginning to appear to us, impoverished and conventional as our conceptions tend to be; and that with opened eyes we shall recognize Him in many an unsuspected guise, the unknown companion of our pilgrimage.

INDIA-BURMA

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURE AND VILLAGE LIFE IN INDIA IN THEIR RELATION TO THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

I

BACKGROUND

INDIA contains the largest mass of civilized people found anywhere in the tropics. The most of India lies south of the parallel drawn through New Orleans. In summer, when the sun is over the Tropic of Cancer, it casts its noonday shadow on the south side of the houses of Calcutta. At this season, the Indian peninsula becomes very hot and air currents are set up which pull the southern trade-winds across the geographic equator to the thermal equator in northern India. This brings the "summer monsoons," on which so much of India depends for her rainfall. The Western Ghats take a heavy toll of moisture from these winds, leaving for the central plateau but slight rainfall. The Gujarat catches the winds which pass north of the Ghats, and is well watered. The rising air currents in the plains of the lower Ganges give heavy rainfall for northeast India. The Punjab is watered from five rivers which carry back to the ocean the rain in the Himalayas. Southeastern India is watered by the northern trade-winds, which bring the "winter monsoons." Those parts of India where the population is most dense are watered by the "summer monsoons." For about four months it is very wet, but the time when the rain will come, the time when the rain will cease and the amount of rain during the monsoon, all depend upon dislocated tropical air currents which vary from season to season. This variation adds greatly to the precariousness of life. During the remainder of the year crops, where grown, must depend upon moisture stored in the soil or upon irrigation. The summers are very hot and, except in the northwest, the winters are not cold.

These are trying conditions under which to live and work, but hundreds of millions of people, from generation to generation, manage to adjust themselves to them.

While the 337,000,000 people of India occupy a country slightly more than one-half the size of the continental area of the United States, there are large areas of arid or semi-arid land so sparsely populated that one may easily mistake the country for parts of western Texas. This means that in the areas of fertile soil and adequate rainfall or irrigation the population is very dense.

In 1925, out of a gross sown area of 257,000,000 acres, slightly less than 51,000,000 acres, or only 19.8 per cent., were irrigated.* Nearly one-half of this area is irrigated by private wells and tanks, and the rest by Government canals. Over large tracts of Madras, Bombay, and the Central Provinces, the growing of crops without irrigation is extremely precarious, so the Government began to concentrate there. The crop area per capita of farm population in India is about one-tenth as much as in the United States. This provides a ratio between land and farmers which can mean nothing better than subsistence farming for most of the farm people. The size of farms varies in India according to the productivity of the land. In the Deccan, where rainfall is light and the crop yield low, holdings are much larger than in the rich areas of adequate rainfall. Hence the average size of farms in the Bombay Presidency is 12.2 acres (1921 Census) while in the United Provinces the average holding is 2.5 acres!

In the Census Report for India (1921), the number of cultivated acres per cultivator is given as follows:

Bombay	12.2	Madras	4.9
Punjab	9.2	Bengal	3.1
Central Provinces and Berar	8.5	Bihar and Orissa	3.1
Burma	5.6	Assam	3.0
		United Provinces	2.5

In appraising the meaning of these figures it should be borne in mind that many holdings of one acre or less are cultivated by people who look to other sources for their principal income. In the Punjab 17.9 per cent. of the holdings belonged to this class. Hence the average size of farms operated by those who depend upon cultivating the land for a livelihood is larger than here indicated. Yet the area per land-worker is very small, judged by United States standards. This indicates that whereas labor-saving machinery has been the key to progress in agriculture in the United States, the finding of profitable uses for labor is the key to the improvement of the income of the Indian agriculturalist.**

* *Agricultural Statistics of British India*, pp. 351-352.

** For a more extended treatment and details see *Fact-Finders' Reports, India-Burma*, J. L. Hypes, *in loco*.

VILLAGES

For the most part, the people of rural India live in villages. The term "village" means an area of land utilized by a number of people who live in a consolidated group at some point within the village area. "Village" is used in the same sense in the southwestern part of India, where the people live scattered about on their small holdings. Villages vary greatly in population. We visited some with fewer than a hundred people, and others containing more than three thousand.

The village center, containing the houses and barns of the villagers, is usually surrounded by a wall. An inside view shows continuous rows of little houses or walled-in courtyards on either side of narrow streets. Within the courtyards are found the living-quarters and stables, and an open space for all kinds of work. In the smaller villages all of the houses may be in solid rows, facing a large central space with the courtyards behind the houses. In this case the cattle may be kept in a shed in front of the house, or in an adjoining building, or in the courtyard behind. Some of the buildings are made of bricks, but the most characteristic material used for village houses is mud. In some instances the walls of the houses are built up directly of the mixture of mud and straw; in other instances adobe bricks are made, and the walls are built of these bricks. In areas where stone is abundant, it is not unusual to find houses built of stone. The roofs are sometimes made of tiles; in the rice country the houses are usually covered with rice straw; in the palm areas palm leaves are used. Near the main center of village population, usually outside the walled-in area, is another small group of huts where live the "out-castes," or farm laborers, artisans and servants who do not belong to any of the Hindu castes. They are usually spoken of by Government officials and missionaries as the depressed classes.

In the strictly rural areas, the village population is made up of landlords, farmers, farm laborers, carpenters, potters, silversmiths, shopkeepers, priests, teachers, native doctors, money-lenders, leather-workers, rope-makers, weavers, sweepers, watchmen, etc. The people in these different occupations constitute different castes, a system which, with the sanctions of the Hindu religion, separates the different elements of the village into classes, particularly with regard to their social and economic standing. It has been a positive rule in Hinduism that one must remain in the caste into which he is born.

HOMES

Upon entering the house of the villager, one finds certain characteristic equipment. First is the mill, which consists of two flat circular

stones, twelve to sixteen inches in diameter, carefully cut with grinding surfaces which fit together. The upper stone has a wooden peg rising about eight inches from one edge, with which it is turned upon the lower stone to grind the grain. One or two women turn the mill. When the stones begin to hum, the women begin to sing the mill song, but it is difficult for one woman alone to get up speed enough to make the mill hum. With her free hand the woman drops the grain into the mill through the hole in the center of the upper stone, and the meal comes out on the floor on all sides of the mill. In the rice areas it is not the mill but the hand or foot power rice hulling and polishing equipment which is in evidence. In South India and elsewhere the pestle and mortar are used to prepare rice and other grains.

The next thing to catch the attention is the small fireplace, not over twelve inches over all, where the bread is baked. Chimneys are not found in these village homes, but for the dry season outdoor cooking places are provided. Next to the wall, scarcely perceptible because of the darkness, are large earthenware retainers of food grains.

There is bedding, which in the daytime may be hanging over a rope drawn across the corner of the room. In some parts of the country small bedsteads are used to sleep on, and in other parts the members of the family lie down on the floor wrapped in a piece of bedding.

The work of the household begins at four o'clock in the morning, at which time the women of the household arise, grind the grain with which to make their unleavened bread, and churn the milk of the previous day, making butter (which may later be converted into *ghi*, or pure butter fat) and buttermilk, which must be ready for the breakfast of the menfolk.

FARM WORK

The farmer arises later, eats breakfast and proceeds to the work of the field, with his bullocks in case plowing is to be done, or without them in case he is simply going to devote his time to weeding or other manual work. After the farmer has been in the field a few hours, a member of the family brings him some bread and butter or curds, and a drink of buttermilk. The farmer eats this meal and proceeds with his work until noon, when he drives the bullocks home. He then takes rest and bathes while some other member of the family takes care of the bullocks. After this he takes his noonday meal and rests either by lying down in the house or on the porch, or by going to the common meeting-place of the village. Between three and four o'clock

in the afternoon he returns to the field, where he works until dark, then returns from the field, eats his supper and retires for the night between nine and ten o'clock. This work goes on day after day without any break for Sunday, during the season when farm work can be done. There are, of course, many holidays, but in the main these are set at times which do not conflict with the farm work.

The monotony of the farmer's labors may be broken by working in one part of the village area in the forenoon on one parcel of land, and going to another fragment in the afternoon. Much has been said against fragmentation by people with Western conceptions of agriculture, but the Indian farmer will point out many advantages of scattered holdings, so long as the fragments are not too small. A sixth of an acre is a half-day's plowing. If the fragment is less than this, time may be lost in moving from field to field.

FARM EQUIPMENT

The Indian plow is made by the village carpenter, who can do a certain amount of blacksmithing. The plow is made of wood, with the exception of the point, which is of iron. This is not a turning plow of the soil-drying type used in humid regions, but a digging plow of the moisture-conserving type, which stirs but does not turn the soil. The harrows are of the scraper type. A blade runs under the surface, destroys weeds and does not lift the moist soil to the surface, where it would lose its moisture. The seed-drills, made by the village carpenter of wood, bamboo, and a little iron for the drill points, do excellent work, but require one or more laborers to drop the seeds into the drill-pipes, which is done automatically in Western drills. Considering the cheapness of the Indian drill and the abundance of labor, it is well suited to the conditions.

Hasty comparisons between the East and the West may mislead those who try to help Indian farmers (ryots). The rural-urban balance in the East has a very different background from that of the West, and although it will probably be modified by the extension of industry it is unlikely that industrial development will become so highly centralized as in the West. It should be noted further that although certain industrial cities have grown rapidly in recent decades, the percentage of increase of city dwellers in proportion to the total population has been surpassed by the same comparative percentage of increase for those living by extractive agriculture. Until the economic life of America is so organized that we can point not only to efficiency in the processes of physical production, but also to justice in the process by which the income is distributed among the

people of the nation, our suggestions to other peoples should be modest. The missionary should take the East as he finds it and study the local situation for *leads* which may result in improvements; but he should not carry the Western pattern in his mind all the time.

The harvesting of small grains and rice is all done with the sickle, and the grain is trampled out by bullocks and winnowed by hand. Kafir corn and other stemmed grains are cut with a heavy knife not unlike the American corn-knife.

If the farmer breaks his plow, harrow or drill, he turns to the village carpenter to have it repaired; if he needs more or larger earthen vessels in which to keep his grain or in which to carry water, he turns to the village potter. If he needs more rope with which to hitch his bullocks to the plow, he turns to the rope-maker. If it is sandals or a leather bucket for lifting irrigation water from the well that he needs, he turns to the leather-worker. In many villages the farmer's wife spins yarn from hand-ginned cotton grown by the farmer. This is woven into cloth by the village weaver, but it has become quite common to buy mill-cloth. At harvest-time each of the artisans receives a definite amount of grain from each farmer whom he has served.

In the more progressive villages there is found a school, and in certain areas village libraries are found. It is true that, taking India as a whole, only a small percentage of the people can read and write, but this condition is slowly improving. One never fails to find a shrine, if not a temple, and one often finds several temples and mosques in one village.

Recreation and music find a place in the village. The typical old village has a wrestling-pit. The athletic post, the Indian clubs and the lathi are other gymnasium equipment. Drums, fifes and a harmonium provide the accompaniment for singing. Story-telling finds a large place at the village center, where the illiterate acquire much lore. The drama has played an important part in the recreation of the village people, but is said to have declined.

THE MISSIONARY'S TASK

It is in these villages, with all of their diversity, and yet with the common characteristic of division of labor and division of social status corresponding to the occupation to which one belongs, and with meager resources in proportion to the population, that the rural missionary in India finds the problems with which he must deal. If he is to deal with them successfully he must acquire a thorough understanding of the way in which the physical environment, the

state of mind of the people, and the ratio of population to resources affect his work. India is large; what the mission can do is small. There can be little value in work which simply touches a few people and stops there. If the people of but a few villages can be given ideas which have within themselves the contagion which will spread through all villages, then the life of India will be affected; otherwise the work will be of little avail. The influence which is needed relates to the quality of the life of the people. We can teach India little about how to maintain a dense population on given resources. From them we might learn much along this line, if we were interested. It may be that higher ideals of life, once they become contagious in India, will in a few hundred years greatly reduce the population and improve the quality of life.

The present mode of life in the villages of India, with its low standards of living, was established in the days of a self-sufficing economy. The things which could be produced from materials close at hand set the limit to what could be had. Under these conditions the food, clothing and shelter were necessarily simple. The whole sphere of life was under the eye, and learning beyond this was not desired. When the villager pondered upon the overwhelming forces of nature, he turned hopefully to the priest. What he got there did not turn his life into a new path.

Industrialism has broken in upon this old regime in places, and habits are changing; since the British came to India they have increased the land area through irrigation, extended employment through commerce and industry and checked pestilence; the main result, however, has been an increase in population rather than an improvement of the quality of the life of the people. The need is for new seeds of life which may thrive under Indian conditions and from which may spring up in the hearts of men new conceptions of life and a new dynamic which will give the people the impulse to strive for higher ideals. The planting of these seeds is the task of the missionary.

II

AGRICULTURAL MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA

1. AGRICULTURAL WORK WITH THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

So far as we know, the earliest conception of agricultural missions, as expressed by the American Student Volunteers, placed them alongside of medical and evangelistic missions as a method of rendering

service to rural people in the mission fields. The actual beginnings of agricultural missions in India seem to have had no relation to these earlier student ideas, but rather to have sprung from the demands created by the "mass movement." The mass movement put vast numbers of depressed-class people under the leadership of missionaries who felt deeply the importance of doing something for them. The work of the Catechists and Bible women was gravely limited by the illiteracy of the people. This at once suggested schools, but it was found that the depressed-class Christians were suffering from lack of nutrition as well as lack of education. This led to the introduction of the agricultural missionary as a part of the mission unit in a number of locations. When the agricultural missionary approached his task he found that people whom he desired to serve were not farmers, though some of them had a little land and many of them kept chickens and pigs and goats and sometimes a buffalo.

It was very natural, therefore, that the early work of the agricultural missionaries should focus upon those types of work which meant something practical to these people; hence the poultry-work early became important, and up to the present time, after more than twenty years of development, holds the central position in the work of agricultural missionaries for the depressed classes. The goat has been getting attention more recently, and the production of vegetables and fruits has not been overlooked. As a result of the poultry-work, one finds white Leghorns, black Minorcas, and Rhode Island Red chickens in hundreds of villages in the various parts of India. Whether or not this means a permanent improvement in the poultry of India is yet to be determined. The missionaries are continuing to maintain their flocks by importing new blood from America and England. The effort to improve those phases of agriculture in which the depressed classes participated must certainly have arisen from a desire to improve the nutrition of the people, but the statement most commonly given relates rather to the provision of the means for a self-supporting church, and there is reason to believe that eggs and poultry for the market have received major attention.

Parallel with these specific types of extension work in the depressed-class villages, agricultural missionaries have been participating from the beginning in the educational work for the depressed classes. This has sometimes taken the form of vocational schools, but more frequently that of an agricultural or industrial emphasis in the regular or normal school. The work has been injected into the regular school curriculum as low as the 5th standard, but some of the best work in this field follows the 7th standard when boys are old enough to

appreciate its importance, and are likely to return to the villages as teachers or as farmers and to exert an influence as leaders in their communities. In the best of these schools small groups of boys are assigned definite areas of land on which to carry on farming essentially on the same scale as they would in the village. From five to seven boys share the work of each project. Each boy gives at least three hours a day to this work. The group receives all of the products, pays rent for the land and hire for the use of the bullocks. In some instances the boys operating the land in this way are making the entire cost of their education and are getting invaluable practical training to supplement the teaching of the classroom. This type of work has impressed us as the most promising of the agricultural work developed by the missions.

We had come to India with the impression, based upon the reports we had read, that these vernacular schools with an agricultural bias were having little influence upon the life of the village, because, it was said, they were used by the village boys as a means of getting away from the village to some city occupation. A little inquiry, however, indicated that there had been some misconception in this regard. Inquiries of students in a number of schools indicated that a significant proportion of the boys were planning to go back to the villages as teachers, as farmers or as artisans.* The one record we have been able to secure up to the present time of what students are actually doing after finishing school is found in the following table, prepared by I. W. Moomaw, of Anklesvar, in the Gujarat:

AN OCCUPATIONAL SURVEY OF THE STUDENTS
WHO HAVE PASSED OUT FROM THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL SINCE ITS
BEGINNING IN 1925

Teachers		
In village schools	42	
In central or station schools	36	78
Special agriculture teachers		4
Farmers		30
Farmer-Carpenters		7
Teacher-Farmers		3
Teacher-Carpenters		4
Carpenters		11
Tailors		4
Mill Mechanics		2
Government Forestry Department		2

* The experimentation in agricultural education at Pyinmāna, Burma, is an illustration in point.

Students in English Schools	4
Talati (Govt. land officer, local)	1
Machinist	1
Motor mechanic	1
Laborer	1
Assistant in Hospital	1
	<hr/>
	160

Land Settlements

Another phase of agricultural work, arising out of the Christianizing of the depressed classes, is the land-settlement projects in the various parts of India. The plan has been to collect the families that have joined the Christian community and settle them upon areas of land which have been secured from the government. In some instances this was new land brought under irrigation, particularly in the Punjab, but in other instances it has been inter-village areas which the Government has thrown upon the market. The land-settlements in the Punjab have given an opportunity for depressed-class people to become farmers with adequate land areas, and while as a class they have had much to learn before becoming good farmers, in the most favorable circumstances they have risen to a position in life very superior to that which they occupied in the villages from which they came. In some of the inter-village areas which were purchased for land-settlement projects, the results have been less satisfactory. In one area, which is generally looked upon as a successful example of land-settlement, the annual rainfall varies from 11 inches to 62 inches. While drought is a common cause of failure, a flood which raised the water level to the ceilings of the houses in which the villagers lived represents the other extreme. Furthermore, in this settlement the amount of land provided each settler is only about three acres, which is not over one-half the amount required if the family is to make a living by farming in that region. As a result, the members of the families have constantly to press out into other occupations to eke out additional income.

First, land-settlement cannot play an important part in the work of agricultural missions of the future in India, not only because there will probably be but little land available, but because the help that can be given by this method is but a drop in the bucket. That is, land-settlement does not seem to be a method of exemplifying Christianity which will result in modifying land tenures in such a way as to improve the condition of farmers generally.*

* See also Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, J. L. Hypes, *in loco*.

Second, land-settlements carry with them a definite danger. Where depressed-class people are given land free, or on easy terms, and are advanced sums of money for tools, equipment, or other improvements, they are apt to acquire the mental attitude that the mission will continue to provide for them. In the case of all too many settlements in India, there does not seem to be present that keen incentive for self-support which is found where the cultivator is dealing with a firm landlord. Therefore, if good land can be obtained, and the mission decides to go forward with the settlement, it would seem wise to consider the formation of a corporation or other group to run the settlement on a strictly business basis, entirely separated from the mission, which should perform the nurturing and pastoral functions.

Third, it should be borne in mind that a significant proportion of the people of the depressed classes are without agricultural experience, and do not take kindly or successfully to farming on their own account.

Another service which many of the missions have undertaken with great enthusiasm has been the promotion of coöperative credit societies in the villages. These organizations not only assist the individual through lowering materially the rate of interest demanded, but also prove highly educational through the bringing about of coöperative action among the village groups. On the other hand, it has been discovered in many instances that additional credit is not an unmixed blessing, where there has been no increase in earning capacity. Moreover, a credit society to be successful, requires first of all a real understanding of sound principles and always demands expert management and oversight, all of which too often have been lacking.

2. RURAL RECONSTRUCTION—A NEW APPROACH*

(a) *Rural Work of the Y.M.C.A.*—Contemporary with the development of the county Y.M.C.A. work in the United States was a movement in India to find a way to serve the 685,000 villages in which the vast majority of people lived. While the major part of the work of the Y.M.C.A. in India has continued to be city work, a definite approach to rural work has been made. In the early efforts to render service to rural people, one line of attack was made, namely, that of providing a supplementary type of rural credit. But after careful study of the results of this work, the late K. T. Paul, General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. for India, decided that the only satisfactory

* See also Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, J. L. Hypes, *in loco*.

approach was one which would endeavor to meet all of the great variety of needs of village life essential to the building of a higher type of rural civilization. The objective of the work as stated by one of the Y.M.C.A. leaders is as follows:

"The end objective of rural reconstruction is to build a rural civilization, Christian to the core, for the creation of happy, upright, useful citizenship in village life. In doing this, due regard should be had for the preservation of all that is good in Indian village life. The responsibility for new forms of service should be made to rest on local (indigenous) leadership."

In approaching the village the Y.M.C.A. worker has endeavored to reach all of the people. With this in view he has made it his first effort to secure the confidence of the leaders in the village. This, of course, usually means the caste people. It is believed, and apparently with good reason, that if the caste people are reached first it is easy to move toward the outcastes and render service to them, but if the first approach is made to the outcaste, it is then very difficult to reach the caste villagers who are served by the outcastes. At Martandam, Dr. D. Spencer Hatch approaches all classes at once, and asks the caste people to help in improving the opportunities and conditions of the outcastes.

The types of service rendered by the Y.M.C.A. leaders cover the whole field of life, including health, wealth, and Christian ideals. Poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, hog-raising, cattle-improvement, goat-improvement, gardening and weaving are the more concrete phases of the work. The promotion of coöperation for social as well as economic purposes, the stimulating of movements for sanitation, aid in providing medical service, physical training, village libraries and night schools and the drama, constitute other important phases of the work. In proceeding with the work in a village the aim is to respond to felt needs rather than to follow any particular set rules of approach. The endeavor is to exemplify the life and teachings of Christ, but not to press these teachings upon anyone who has not definitely manifested a desire to receive instruction. No effort is made to build up a following of baptized Christians; since this, it is believed, would greatly handicap the undertaking, for it would tend to eliminate the Hindu coöperation in the movement. The baptized Christians are looked upon by Hindus as a separate group of the depressed classes, since a large proportion of the Christians in India is from the depressed classes. The caste people of the villages would refuse to join the existing Christian church, because it would seem to them like a transfer from a higher to a lower social status. The

endeavor of the Y.M.C.A. is to give these caste people an understanding of the life and teachings of Christ through exemplification, and to influence them to accept His ideas and put them into practice, thus becoming "followers of Christ in their life practices in the community and in their homes," and leaving to the future the question of the form of fellowship these followers of Christ may choose to create for themselves. The Y.M.C.A. procedure implies willingness to exemplify the life and teachings of Christ and to trust to God for the results. A phrase developed in this connection is, "We do rural reconstruction work because we are Christians, rather than because we want to make Christians."

It is obvious that those who are to invest in rural reconstruction work of this kind must themselves be Christianized to the point where they are willing to give, asking nothing in return. They must be willing to trust in the power of the Gospel for which they stand.

(b) *Rural reconstruction work by "followers of Christ who are not members of the Church."*—Next to the work done by the Y.M.C.A. the best examples of rural reconstruction work in India are those being carried forward by Hindus who have accepted the basic principles of Christianity but who have not seen fit to join the church. Four examples of this kind of work were studied. In all cases the work was outlined essentially as that of the Y.M.C.A. In every case the leader lived in the village center and shared the life of the people, and in so doing was willingly making a large financial sacrifice. In no case was less stress put upon health problems or agricultural problems; if there was any difference, more stress was laid upon what is called mental culture. This is defined as developing in the people a willingness to make personal sacrifices in the interest of others, which is looked upon as basic to the various types of coöperative undertakings essential to the building of the higher type of rural life.

(c) *Rural reconstruction work and the Protestant Missions.*—When Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield came to India to study missions, he was much impressed with the rural reconstruction work as outlined by Mr. K. T. Paul. As he went about visiting the centers of Protestant missionary work in India he gave the missionaries an enthusiasm for rural reconstruction work, thus turning the attention of practically all of the agricultural missionaries and many others toward what Dr. Butterfield calls the rural reconstruction "unit" as a method of approach. As a result, nearly all of the agricultural missionaries have in the last two years started something which they have called rural reconstruction work. As a rule they have done the natural thing; they have reached out from where they were into

villages, but in thus reaching out they have found themselves reaching through the depressed-class section of the villages, in which they had been working, to the caste section where they had hitherto been looked upon as simply helpers of the depressed classes. The move has been beneficial in extending the service to include all of the depressed classes, instead of being limited largely to Christians. Some success has been attained in making a contact with the caste villages, but it is not clear that the good relations which have been established are more than the tolerant attitude of the leaders in the caste villages toward persons whom they have come more or less to admire because of the service they have rendered to the depressed classes, just as in America the prominent business man admires the work of the Salvation Army. It is not at all clear that effective work with the caste villager can be done from this approach. But this should be open to experiment. Furthermore, the view expressed by Dr. Butterfield that the church should be central in the rural reconstruction unit is not in harmony with the practice and experience of the Y.M.C.A., though in one mission sphere of influence the "Y" works in close coöperation with the churches, and holds the Hindu people, who are more numerous and influential than the Christians. Thus the "Y" has bridged the gap. Christian and non-Christian are working together in a common undertaking to improve country life. The Christian impulse is always central in its work, and it is implicit that a fellowship of the followers of Christ may emerge.

We have found no case as yet in which the Protestant missions have placed a full-time rural reconstruction worker in the village center, where he shares the life of all of the people. And while the extension work which is being done by the agricultural missions and which is now being opened to caste as well as to the outcaste people is to be encouraged, it seems wise to give some thought to perfecting methods of procedure and training leaders before the work is extended in scope. Otherwise there is grave danger of a failure which will discourage rural reconstruction as a method of Christian approach to the village.

(d) *Rural reconstruction experimentation.*—While there are those who feel that the work of rural reconstruction is well under way, there are others who feel that it is very definitely in the experimental stage—that methods of approach, types of work worth doing, the extent to which the work should be done by paid leaders, the extent to which it should be done by volunteer workers, the stage at which religious teaching by example should be supplemented by teaching and preaching, are all open questions.

(e) *Agricultural work of the Government agencies.*—When agricultural missions were first thought of in India, the agricultural work of the Government was in its infancy, but at the present time the Government of India and the various provincial authorities have a remarkably well-developed system of agricultural research, education and demonstration. In planning the work of rural reconstruction it is of first importance that it should fit into the general plan of the country and should not duplicate work well done by Government agencies, but rather, should supplement and make more fruitful the Government work.

In order that the relation between the rural reconstruction worker and the Government agencies may be better understood, the general system will be briefly described. In each province and in the larger native states there is an agricultural director who is in general charge of research, education and demonstration. For research work he has under him specialists in genetics, plant pathology and entomology, and other phases of agricultural work. The principal of the agricultural college likewise operates under the direction of the Director of Agriculture. The demonstration work is carried on by a number of deputy directors, each one in charge of a large area—in some provinces one-fourth of the province, in others one-eighth, depending upon the size of the province and the number of deputy directors available. Under the deputy directors are men roughly corresponding to the county agents in the United States, who in turn have under them practical demonstrators who go to the villages and put in small areas of wheat and other crops to demonstrate the value of good seed and new farm tools. These demonstration agents aid the farmers in securing better types of farm implements, such as plows, sugar-cane presses, etc. They also aid the farmers in securing better varieties of seed which have been developed by the plant-breeders and multiplied on the Government farms and under Government control on private farms.

While this system of extension is well developed, the deputy directors are quite generally of the opinion that they have not been adequately successful in reaching the people of the villages, and have openly expressed the desire for volunteer agencies which will co-operate with them in getting the results of agricultural research out to the villages. Thus the leader of rural reconstruction work has at hand the agencies of Government upon which he may call and which are ready to respond. His major task is in getting the villagers to want help and to believe in themselves to the point of feeling that

that which has been done by the Government agency in the way of crop improvement can also be done by themselves.

With regard to public health agencies and educational agencies, upon which the rural reconstruction worker may call in a similar manner, the committees of this Commission on medical work and on schools report elsewhere.

(f) *A Vital Question.*—In the autumn of 1931, while visiting the rural missionaries who were starting or thinking of starting rural reconstruction work as the new approach of the mission to village India, one disturbing question persistently arose: namely, "Will the Christians in the homeland be willing to support this new method of approach for reaching the people of the villages?" So important is this question regarding the future relation of the homeland to mission work in India that an effort to explain the situation is imperative.

The traditional approach of the Western missionary to the Orient has been that of preaching the Word, baptizing converts and organizing a church as the center of missionary activity. It is not strange, therefore, that among those in the homeland who support and administer the mission enterprise, a feeling should exist that the rural reconstruction movement in the villages of India should be church-centered. The difficulty created by putting the church in the foreground in the approach to the people of these villages arises out of the social structure of the population where the caste system is so thoroughly established that every person comes into life as a member of a specific caste or outcaste group. Each of these groups is known in India as a "community." When Indians are baptized and join the church they are automatically separated from their old groups and take on the status of Christians, which group is regarded generally by Indians as *another* "community" (between caste and outcaste). The missionary who is in the position of inducing people to abandon an old grouping for a new one finds his appeal responded to almost wholly by those who are members of groups with the lowest status, the members of which have little or nothing to lose by withdrawal. These low-status groups are spoken of collectively by the missionaries as the depressed classes and represent but a fraction of the people of an average agricultural village. On the other hand, the major part of the population of the village, consisting of caste people as distinguished from the outcaste or depressed classes, is involved with family traditions, property rights and various other legal relations which it is very difficult to forego. Hence they rarely become members of the church.

In the new approach of the missionary to the villages of India, it is proposed to reach *all* classes of people, and exemplify to them the life and teachings of Jesus Christ without disturbing their old group status. It has been found by Christian missionaries in charge of rural reconstruction centers that people representing the various castes of the village can be induced to work together, if centered in a Rural Life Improvement Association, the function of which is to improve the quality of the life of *all* the people through activities Christian in spirit. There is a deep conviction on the part of those who have given most thought to this problem that the approach, to be most effective, must be through exemplification of the Christian spirit and life with such religious discussion as may be elicited by the people. They believe that the organization of a church, with accent on a membership after the fashion of the West, should be in abeyance until people of all classes have come to know Christ through the portrayal of His life and teachings. It is believed that in due course of time an indigenous church will emerge suited to the conditions of the Indian village. In placing medical service, educational work, aid in agricultural improvement and other social services in the foreground, there is no suggestion to abandon Christian work for exclusively philanthropic work. On the contrary, it is suggested that medical, educational, agricultural and other social services are the best possible means of giving content to the work of exemplification of the life and teachings of Jesus. It is believed, furthermore, that this vital type of evangelism will make its appeal to all classes of people in the village, penetrate and influence their lives, and ultimately Christianize the life of village India.

While this question of methods of approach in the villages was discussed freely in private conversation between members of the Commission and individual workers in every part of India, these workers were generally timid about discussing the matter in public. This question was, nevertheless, brought into the foreground at the Nagpur Conference on rural reconstruction work held in December, 1931. This conference was called by the Secretary of the National Christian Council at the request of members of the Appraisal Commission. Those present represented the leading centers of rural and agricultural missionary work in all parts of India. The resolution on this subject adopted by the Nagpur Conference reads as follows: "The dominant factor in approaching any prospective center of (rural reconstruction) work should be the exemplification of Christianity through service and character, but we must be ever ready to 'give a reason for the hope that is in us' by a frank proclamation of

the Gospel as the power of God." When, in the discussion of this resolution, a member of our Commission raised the question, "But what about the church?" the response voiced by one of the most consecrated Christian missionaries in India, himself an evangelist in charge of rural work, was as follows: "I think there will arise an indigenous church in India—a called-out people—not necessarily those who have observed the forms of the West. I believe what is crippling the Christian movement is that it has been saddled on India by the West. It is hedged up inside a certain system. It needs to burst the shell and break out."

The conviction was strengthened by the Nagpur Conference that it was our duty to do everything possible to help the Christians at the home base to understand this situation in India in order that they may be in full sympathy with the missionaries on the field in seeking to use the most effective methods possible in presenting Christ to the villages of India. The vital questions to Christians at home are these: "Are you willing to place in the midst of the Indian villages the spirit of the living Christ and leave it to the villagers to determine the form of fellowship which may emerge? Are you willing to proceed with major emphasis upon 'exemplification of Christianity through service and character' and trust God for the results?" It is believed that the answer to these questions must be Yes, if in this generation our missionaries are to Christianize rural India.

3. RESEARCH WORK BY AGRICULTURAL MISSIONARIES

The work in Industrial Chemistry carried on by Prof. Carter Speers of Forman Christian College, Lahore, is making an important contribution to rural life in the Punjab. The improvement of methods of making soap, brick, tile and porcelain are important; but special attention is here called to Professor Speers' work on sugar. The indigenous village methods of making sugar are very wasteful of the sugar content. Professor Speers' work in improving the methods of sugar-making is being carried on in coöperation with the Punjab Government. The results, so far as useful, will be carried to the villagers through the regular Government extension agencies. In this way Professor Speers' work gives promise of yielding manyfold what his individual effort could not produce without State coöperation.

The Government research work has been carried forward with a high degree of success in the field of plant-breeding, the control of plant diseases, and the control of insect pests. Their work has been comprehensive and highly successful in the field of the control of livestock diseases, but in the field of livestock-breeding but slight

progress has as yet been made. It can therefore be readily understood why certain of our agricultural missionaries have felt the desire to enter this field of research, though at first thought it would seem that instead of entering upon livestock-breeding himself the missionary should use such influence as he is able to bring to bear upon the Government agencies that they press forward with work in this field. After a careful study of the livestock-breeding problem in India as carried on by Government agencies in the past and as planned for the future, one is impressed with the magnitude of the unsolved problem, with its very great importance, and with the need for work supplementary to that which is likely to be provided by the Government.

Bullock-power and the milk-supply are central in the improvement of the agriculture and the life of village India. With the present population requiring for human consumption practically all of the grain of all kinds produced in India, the livestock industry must be based upon grazing and upon the by-products of grain production and the production of oils and cotton. Thus wheat and rice straw, the stalks of the grain sorghum, the stems and leaves of the various millets, cottonseed and oil cake constitute the basis of the livestock industry. In many parts of the country it is the by-products of grain production alone which are available for the cattle.

At the present time, two species of animals are kept, the cow which produces the bullock and the water buffalo which is kept primarily for milk. While the bull calf from the cow is highly prized because it is a source of future farm power, the heifer calves are as a rule little prized and a high percentage of them are allowed to starve. On the other hand, the heifer water buffalo is highly prized and reared, whereas practically all of the bull calves are neglected and die. Under these conditions it would seem highly desirable that a cow should be found that would serve the purpose of producing good bullocks and at the same time provide an adequate milk-supply under the prescribed conditions. As a matter of fact the breeds that are producing good bullocks are as a rule poor milkers. A test is now being made with large numbers of cows which have been in a bullock-breeding herd time out of mind, to ascertain their value as milkers. As a starting-point three pounds of milk per day were required if a cow was to be kept in the herd. Forty per cent. of the cows failed to meet this requirement. This experiment includes some 700 head of cattle. There are breeds which under favorable circumstances, such as prevail in the agricultural colleges, have provided selected specimens which have produced as high as 7,000 pounds of milk per annum.

The average yield, under village conditions, of cows of these breeds, however, is very small and said to be less than that of the water buffalo, at least less in butter-fat yield, buffalo milk containing from a third to a half more fat than cow milk.

Government experiments have been made in crossing milk breeds of cattle with breeds which have been low in milk, but which have produced very efficient bullocks. Up to the present time these crosses have not proved to be an effective means of solving the problem. Apparently they have simply thrown the villager into worse confusion by reducing the percentage of good bullocks produced with the sole compensation that he may or may not get a better milk cow. At the military dairy at Jubbulpore, where cross-breeding of native cattle with European dairy breeds has been carried on for years under competent management, little success has been attained in developing anything satisfactory beyond the *first* cross. The main dependence for milk is a large herd of water buffaloes.

After careful consideration of this whole question, it would seem that what is needed is a large-scale livestock experiment which should be planned from the first for a hundred years. Such an experiment should be under the direction of an agricultural economist who would keep it focused on the problem of the village, but the details should be under the supervision of geneticists, nutrition experts, and livestock health specialists, chosen for their ability in this field without regard to their nationality or their religion.

The problems in this field are so difficult and the experiment will need to be on such a large scale and to extend through such a long period, that it would seem wise for our missionaries to join in an effort to build an enterprise on a private foundation, which will provide for a permanent livestock experiment of this kind, rather than directly to undertake the work themselves. One of the big opportunities for an American of private means to make a permanent impression upon India and to render a service to the whole world, is to provide for the organization and endowment of a livestock experiment along these lines.

III

RECOMMENDATIONS

Agricultural and rural life service constitutes one of the effective forms of missionary work, but the character of the needs has shifted in the past thirty years. During this period the Government has built

up an elaborate system of agricultural research, education and demonstration, available to the farmers of India. This does not, however, eliminate the need for other help. The leaders in this service realize that they have not been very successful in reaching the people, and have repeatedly asked for the coöperation of voluntary agencies in this undertaking. The agricultural and rural life missionary can render a real service to the villager by aiding him in securing this agricultural service, and at the same time stimulate many types of activity among the villagers, which lead to the improvement of rural life and which are not yet in the programs of the Departments of Agriculture.

The recommendations with regard to agricultural missionary work in India may be divided into three classes:

- a. Research in agriculture and village life;
- b. Those that relate to the services for the depressed-class villagers, which have accepted the leadership of the missions, and to whom the missionaries must feel a real obligation;
- c. Those that relate to an approach to the village people as a whole, regardless of whether they belong to the Christian, Hindu or Moslem community.

A. AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

In general it is recommended that agricultural missionaries depend upon the Government research agencies for the solution of the many agricultural research problems. Government research in the fields of plant-breeding, the control of insect pests and plant diseases, and the control of the diseases of cattle, has reached a very high degree of development, is progressing hopefully, and should take care of the needs for work in this field. The missionaries may be in a position to stimulate the improvement of the quality of the work of these public agencies by calling upon them for results. More economic and social research in problems relating to agriculture and village life are the greatest needs in these institutions today. This should be stimulated, possibly by making some sample studies which will indicate the field and the methods of work.

It is also true that in the work in the field of animal-breeding the Government stations have not made adequate progress. This has led agricultural missionaries to undertake this difficult task. It is suggested that before missionaries undertake further experiments in cattle-breeding, the problems involved be carefully analyzed by a committee consisting of a livestock geneticist, an animal nutritionist,

a veterinarian, an agricultural engineer, and an agricultural economist. Livestock-breeding presents enticing problems, and the desire on the part of certain of the agricultural missionaries to enlarge their work in this field is easily understood. But the Government agencies have already spent more money on cattle-breeding than the missions can hope to command for this purpose, and have enlisted the services of some most excellent men. The results up to date are disappointing, but adequate to show that nothing short of a large-scale (at least a thousand head of cattle) and long-time (at least a hundred years) experiment, under the best genetic, nutrition and health experts, working on a plan in harmony with the economic needs, is likely to yield dependable results. Since this would be a large undertaking as a mission project, perhaps out of line with what can be hoped for in other fields of agricultural mission work, it would likely prove best to establish an experiment of this order on an independent foundation. Such an experiment would render an invaluable service to the people of India and incidentally throw light on many problems of life in a vast region where live the greatest mass of civilized people anywhere under the tropical sun.

B. WORK WITH THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

This *has been* along four lines:

- (1) Agricultural service to these villagers in their original location;
- (2) Giving them special schooling with an agricultural bias;
- (3) The relocating of them by land settlement methods in new villages;
- (4) The promotion of the organization of coöperative credit societies.

With reference to these, respectively, it is recommended:

(1) That in the mass movement areas agricultural work, such as improving poultry and goats, and stimulating gardening, be continued for the present, with the expectation that it will be liquidated if and when the broader approach of rural reconstruction gets under way.

(2) That vernacular agricultural schools located in a strictly rural environment have in them the greatest possibilities for the helping of the children of the Indian village, and ultimately of setting in motion the forces which will develop a higher type of rural civilization. A relatively high percentage of those who successfully complete the courses in the best of these schools return to the villages as

teachers, farmers or tradesmen, and here and there local leaders have already emerged from this group, who show the possibilities of giving to the Indian village hope and aspiration, and stimulating progress toward a higher type of rural civilization in an indigenous form, and on a wholly self-supporting basis.

(3) That evidence indicates that land settlement conducted by missions is likely to succeed only in special conditions and under proper safeguards. Land suitable for this purpose is increasingly difficult to secure. If good land can be obtained, and the mission decides to go forward with the settlement, it would seem wise to consider the formation of a corporation or group to run the settlement on a strictly business basis, entirely separated from the mission; the mission should perform the nurturing and pastoral functions.

(4) That the mission give special attention to the forms of co-operation which relate to the newer forms of social and economic activities. There may be occasion to help in the organization of credit associations, but as a rule this function is now well taken care of by the Government agencies.

C. RURAL RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Of the 685,000 villages of India, only a small percentage has been touched by Christian missions. The others have been approached almost wholly in that segment of the village where the depressed classes live. The great problem of Christian missions in rural India is to find a method of approach to the village which will enlist the interest of *all* classes, and in some way give them an understanding of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, as taught and exemplified by Jesus Christ.

The new proposals for attacking this problem are included under the phrase "rural reconstruction." This is a method of approach to the people of the villages, in which it is sought to enlist *all* classes of people in the simultaneous improvement of *all* phases of life—the economic condition, health and sanitation, and the spiritual and cultural life of the people. While some work has been done with a fair degree of success along this line, many of the methods, if not the goals, are in the experimental stage. It is proposed, therefore, that experiments be carried out along the following lines, with a view to finding the best modes of procedure. These proposals are:

(a) It is recommended that in two or three mission fields the development of rural reconstruction work, including all the people of a group of villages, be undertaken by the missionaries

themselves, enlisting for this purpose men with powers of leadership, who are well trained in agriculture and country-life work, and who will approach this undertaking as an experiment, with the hope of finding methods of work which will enlist all the villagers in common tasks, with objectives Christian in spirit.

The limitation in the number of rural reconstruction projects proposed in this recommendation may require some explanation. A much greater number of missions are already planning rural reconstruction projects in the areas in which they have already been working with the depressed classes. The recommendation that only a limited number of missions make this experiment at this time is based on the realization of the fact that missions in making such an approach to the whole village have a distinct handicap. Their contact with the villages has, as a rule, been established with the outcaste sections only. It is believed that it will be very difficult for them to extend their contacts in these same villages and enlist the coöperation of the caste villagers. They should have little difficulty in extending their service-work to include the non-Christian members of the depressed classes. Here the approach is easy, but working up from the lower to the higher classes is another matter. It is hoped that if the missions adopt the "whole village" point of view, and cease to approach the caste village through the outcaste section, they may find a way to develop successful rural reconstruction projects. Whether missions can do this is yet to be demonstrated. It would seem wise, therefore, to approach the problem experimentally and in a limited number of cases only until methods which give promise of success have been developed through experience.*

(b) It is recommended that two or three experiments be made also in established mission fields by arranging for some outside agency, such as the Y.M.C.A., to come into the mission field and develop the rural reconstruction work as a supplement to the present work of the mission. In their approach to the whole village, the Y.M.C.A. organizes a rural development association

* "Piecemeal effort, and effort otherwise unmindful of the fundamental laws of economics, biology, and other basic determinants of human affairs, may prove in the long run to be more hurtful than advantageous. While effort toward rural reconstruction in India should not be discouraged, it should seek for coördination, scientific guidance, and trained leadership; withal, it must be based upon a fundamental knowledge of the broad sociological matrix of village life and conditions."—Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, J. L. Hypes, *in loco*.

which serves as a useful agency in combining all classes of villagers in one endeavor. This organization, made up of the villagers without regard to caste lines, gives an approach to the problems relating to education, health, land tenure, fragmentation, labor problems, credit, supplementary enterprises, marketing, etc. In carrying out this recommendation of having a separately organized agency, such as the Y.M.C.A., and the mission working in the same villages, there should be no danger of competition if the work of the two agencies is carefully coördinated. Such a project organized by the Y.M.C.A. in the London Missionary Society field at Martandam should be studied as an example of the effective coöperation of two Christian agencies.

(c) It is recommended that at least two or three additional rural reconstruction centers be undertaken, on an experimental basis, in areas at present untouched by any form of Christian endeavor. The hundreds of thousands of villages now untouched by other methods of missionary approach provide a large field for this work. The Y.M.C.A. project covering eight villages, with a center at Ramanathapuram, near Coimbatore, is the only experiment of this kind we know of under Christian auspices. The hope is that methods may be developed which will make the work self-supporting and self-multiplying. In new fields the missions may proceed without the handicap of having previously made a different approach. It is hoped, therefore, that the missions will undertake the development of some rural reconstruction projects in untouched fields.

(d) It is further recommended that *methods of approach and methods of procedure* be made the subject-matter of a piece of research, conducted by those detached from the detailed operations of this work. As a part of this research there should be a study of such problems as the place of the poultry industry in the life of the Indian village, the extent to which the stimulating of this and other agricultural occupations, such as the production of garden products, should be for the improvement of the nutrition of the family, and the extent to which these lines of production can successfully be put on a commercial basis. But even more important than the economic research is the social and psychological research, basic to a better understanding of the Indian villager, and the development of methods of approach which will make rural reconstruction work permanently effective.

Such information as we now have in hand indicates that the approach to the caste village or caste part of a village of India should be made by persons genuinely Christian in character, who will be able to enlist the best talent of the village in the performance of services which benefit all classes of people, particularly those who are less advantageously situated. Such leaders will be willing to proceed by various methods to exemplify the life and teachings of Jesus by co-operating in the improvement of the quality of the life of the village, without urging the people to become members of the church. They will leave to these awakened villagers themselves the determination of the *form* of fellowship which they will adopt, once they have been motivated by the life and teachings of Jesus, as revealed to them through exemplification, through their direct participation in service with the people of their own villages, and through such teaching as they themselves shall have elicited.*

* See also basic recommendations, *Re-Thinking Missions*, pp. 234-236.

COLLATERAL DATA

Excerpts from "The Economic and Social Background of Christian Mission Work in Village India," Fact-Finders' Reports, J. L. Hypes.

The Increasing Dominance of Agriculture: As in the past, agriculture in Indian villages is practically the only important occupation. Moreover, recent trends have been toward an increase in the importance of agriculture and the concentration of the people upon the land. The following figures collected from the census reports of India will illustrate this point:

Year	<i>Proportion directly dependent upon Agriculture to Total Population Per Cent.</i>
1891	61.0
1901	66.0
1911	71.0
1921	72.8

The increasing predominance of the agricultural population of India can also be seen from the extremely slow growth of its urban population. During the thirty years between 1891 and 1921, the city population has increased by less than 1 per cent. A few big cities have sprung up, it is true, but largely at the expense of smaller cities; the villages have not been touched by migration to any significant extent. In some of the Western countries, this period has witnessed a revolution in the distribution of population between urban and rural areas. For example, in Germany, in 1890, about 90 per cent. of the people lived in villages; today, the rural population is only 46 per cent. of the total. In Austria, in 1843, about 91 per cent. of the population was rural and only 9 per cent. urban; by 1910, the figures were 72.8 per cent. and 27.2 per cent., respectively.¹ In most countries, the rapid growth of manufacturing industries has attracted its followers from agriculture; but in India, agriculture has been gaining at the expense of the industries of the past. One important effect of the construction of railroads was that the urban industries of India were brought into severe competition with those of the West, particularly of England; as a result, the indigenous handicrafts could hardly stand against the mass production of the factories. Thus, by thousands, Indian artisans were forced to give up their traditional skilled occupations and retreat to agriculture as unskilled laborers; and thus also the pressure on the land has been increased.

Population Pressure upon the Land: According to the Census of 1921, the total population of India, including Burma, was 319,000,000; but of

¹ *Statistical Abstract of British India, 1918-19 to 1927-28.*

this, 231,000,000, or 72.98 per cent., was found to be following pursuits that may be described as agricultural.

The amount of cultivated land, available per head of agricultural population, has steadily fallen since 1891 as follows:²

<i>Year</i>	<i>Cultivated Area per Capita of Agricultural Population Acres</i>
1891	1.44
1901	1.29
1911	1.24
1921	1.17

However, the total cultivated area, when divided by the total population, amounts to only 0.86 acres per capita.

India imports very little food and, on the other hand, exports very large quantities of jute, cotton, rice, wheat and oil-seeds. But improvements in communication linking the country with the markets of the West, have given a stimulus to the growing of commercial crops, like cotton and jute, at the expense of the food crops, as shown by the following table:³

INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Cultivated Area</i>	<i>Area under Food Crops</i>	<i>Area under Non-Food Crops</i>
1891	100	100	100	100
1901	105	102	102	110
1911	110	111	114	137
1921	111	109	109	133

Therefore, "Subtracting the land thus utilized for supplying foreign markets from the total area under cultivation, we find that what is left does not represent more than two-thirds of an acre per head of the total population. India, therefore, feeds, and, to some extent, clothes its population from what two-thirds of an acre per head can produce. There is probably no other country in the world where the land is required to do so much."⁴

The earliest attempt to calculate the production and the per capita incomes of India seems to have been that of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, toward the close of the last century. On the basis of the official figures published by Government for the years 1867-70, he calculated a year's agricultural production of British India to be £277,000,000. Deducting 6 per cent. for seed, the balance available for human consumption and other use was put down at £260,000,000, or Rs.2,600,000,000. In 1882, Earl Cromer (then Major Evelyn Baring) and Sir (then Mr.) David Barbour estimated the agricultural income of British India as Rs.3,500,-

² *Agricultural Statistics for British India.*

³ Wadia and Joshi, *The Wealth of India.*

⁴ Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*, p. 140. There is a certain amount of fallacy in this statement, since some of the imports are foodstuffs.

000,000. Later, a number of other similar studies were made. The results of these investigations are given below in tabular form, based upon the rural population for the different periods.⁵

TABLE SHOWING ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL INCOME OF BRITISH INDIA

<i>Estimated by</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Agricultural Income in Rupees (gross income)</i>	<i>Population dependent upon agriculture</i>	<i>Per Capita Income of Agriculturists (in rupees)</i>
Dadabhai Naoroji ...	1867-70	2,600,000,000	110,914,903	23-0-0
Lord Curzon	1880-	4,500,000,000	119,127,228	38-0-0
Mr. Digby	1898-99	2,850,000,000	161,700,000	17-0-0
Earl Cromer and D. Barbour	1875-1911	3,500,000,000	116,723,400	30-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata	1900-14	9,948,000,000	216,550,000	46-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata	1900-22	12,321,000,000	220,100,000	56-0-0
Professors Wadia and Joshi	1913-14	10,035,029,260	173,084,698	58-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata	1914-22	16,515,000,000	232,000,000	71-0-0
Findlay Shirras	1920-21	17,149,400,000	190,312,403	90-0-0
"	1921-22	19,834,100,000	190,312,403	104-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata	1921-22	20,978,000,000	232,870,000	90-0-0

These figures for the annual per capita income of the agriculturist tell a woeful tale. Even the most favorable of these estimates show that the average income of the Indian agriculturist is very low. This average income is an index of his capacity to purchase and consume, and hence of his standard of living as well. After calculating per capita income for British India for the period of 1867-70, Mr. Naoroji went on to show that on the basis of the standard set for prisoners, this income is too low even for bare subsistence. He figured that for the bare subsistence of criminals confined in jails, a sum of Rs.34 was required per year, while the average income of agriculturists was only Rs.23 per capita, and Rs.20 for all classes of Indians in general, out of which must be provided food, shelter, clothing, little luxuries, the satisfaction of all social and religious wants, all expenses of occasions of joy and sorrow, and provision for bad seasons! More than four decades later Prof. Shah in estimating the food supply of India, found that the total net supply of cereals produced in this country available for human food was only 48.7 million tons, while there was a total cereal requirement of 81 million tons. This leaves a deficit in food supply of 40 per cent.⁶ He also showed that the cost of nourishing a human being on an acceptable minimum maintenance-level approximated Rs.90 per annum against a gross per capita income of Rs.75. According to his calculation, even this low per capita income of Rs.75 is not all available for consumption; a

⁵ Shah and Khambata, *The Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, Part II (London: P. S. King, 1924), especially Chaps. 2, 3 and 4.

⁶ Shah and Khambata, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-2.

deduction of Rs.18 is made for the political and economic drain upon the resources of India and for paying Government revenues of all kinds. This leaves to the citizen the net income of Rs.57 per capita per annum from which to secure food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and amusement.

Data presented by Prof. Vakil indicate that from 1870 to 1921 the per capita income showed a tendency to increase; and this might lead to the conclusion that the economic condition of the cultivator is fast improving. However, between 1871 and 1921 commodity prices increased in the proportion of 100 to 378 while incomes increased in the proportion of 100 to 370. Thus, with the passing of time, the economic condition of the cultivator seems to be growing worse.⁷

This opinion is confirmed by the conclusion of various investigators of village economy. For example, Mr. R. Mukerjee in his book, *Fields and Farmers of Oudh*, has shown the economic conditions of three typical middle-class families for 1924-25 to be as follows:

	FAMILY		
	I	II	III
Net profits of cultivation	Rs.288. —. —.	65. —. —.	199. —. —.
Income from other sources	150. —. —.	200. —. —.	60. —. —.
Total income from all sources	438. —. —.	265. —. —.	259. —. —.
Total expenditure	321. —. —.	414. —. —.	275. —. —.
Net result	Rs.117. —. —.	149. —. —.	16. —. —.
	Saving	Deficit	Deficit

In 1921, Dr. Mann estimated that in a Deccan village (Jategaon) the average return from a farm was Rs.5-12-0 per acre of cultivation.⁸ Taking into consideration all sources of income, he calculated the average annual income of a family to be Rs.167-13-0, and the per capita income Rs.33-12-0. It should be mentioned in passing that the average debt per capita of this village was Rs.39-12-0, bearing an interest rate varying from 12 per cent. to 75 per cent. Dr. Mann furthermore estimated that 85 per cent. of the villagers were insolvent.⁹ In 1921, the census superintendent of the Bombay Presidency directed an inquiry into rural incomes and came to the conclusion that the most common level of per capita income was about Rs.75, and that most of the families with this income were in debt.¹⁰ Mr. Rushbrook Williams writes:

Where rainfall is precarious and uncertain and the soil shallow and poor the income from all sources per head in a typical village has been calculated at Rs.33-12-0 per annum, as against an expenditure of Rs.44 necessary for real needs in respect of food and clothing.¹¹

In a Gujarat village, it was found in 1924 that the per capita income was Rs.70, expenditure per capita Rs.68, and debt Rs.43.¹² In a Bengal village about 1915, Jacks found that 49 per cent. of the families were

⁷ In an article contributed to *Young India*.

⁸ Mann, H. H., *Land and Labor in a Deccan Village* (Second Study), p. 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁰ Mukerjee, R., *Rural Economy of India*, p. 25.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Mukthyar, M. D., *A Brief Survey of Rural Conditions in British Gujarat*.

living in comfort on an average income of Rs.365, and the remainder were living in varying degrees of distress. This village was in the rice area, and evidently was fairly prosperous.¹³ Studies by Lucas, Saunders, Darling and others, while demonstrating that standards of earning and living vary somewhat among the different climatic and crop areas, also show rather conclusively that the economic status of average village life in India is distressingly low.

INCOME PER INHABITANT

Having examined in some detail the per capita income of the agriculturists, we will turn to a brief consideration of the per capita income of the people in general, both agriculturists and non-agriculturists. The following table represents the results of inquiries undertaken from time to time by investigators, some of whom we have already mentioned:

TABLE SHOWING THE ESTIMATED PER CAPITA ANNUAL INCOME OF INDIANS, BOTH AGRICULTURISTS AND NON-AGRICULTURISTS

<i>Investigators</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Income per Inhabitant</i>
Dadabhai Naoroji	1870	Rs. 20. —. —
Baring-Barbour	1882	27. —. —
Digby	1898-99	18. 9. —
Lord Curzon	1900	30. —. —
Digby	1900	17. 4. —
Atkinson	1875	25. —. —
Atkinson	1895	34. —. —
Wadia and Joshi	1913-14	44. 5. 6
Shah and Khambata	1921-22	67. —. —
Findlay Shirras	1922	116. —. —

In examining these figures we should again point the reader's attention to the data on price levels already quoted. In view of these and other data, Prof. Vakil of the Bombay University, in a series of articles on the poverty of India, in *Young India*, arrives at the conclusion that this country is distinctly poorer today than it was fifty years ago. This testimony is also borne out by Prof. Saunders and a number of investigators who have made intensive inquiries into village life. Almost everywhere they find progressive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, deterioration of agriculture, and increased debt.

LAND COLONIZATION

It has been, and now is the policy of many provincial Governments in India to settle poverty-stricken people upon unoccupied land; and the supervision and administrative control of such settlements is vested in a Board of Revenue, Land Revenue and Settlement.

Experience has shown that many social and moral factors are involved in land colonization, and the Government has therefore been inclined to seek the assistance of Christian missions, the Salvation Army, or even of philanthropic individuals, in establishing needy people upon the land. Thus according to the *Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burma*

¹³ Jacks, J. C., *The Economic Life of a Bengal Village*, p. 81.

and Ceylon, 1928, Protestant religious mission bodies are in charge of agricultural and industrial colonies in India alone, as follows:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Number of Settlements</i>
Bengal	1
Bihar and Orissa	2
Bombay	37
Central Provinces	13
Hyderabad	1
Madras	11
Mysore	1
Punjab	10
Rajputana	6
United Provinces	8
	<hr/> 90

All of these, with but few minor exceptions, are agricultural settlements, and eleven are designated as settlements of criminal tribes.

Data as to the amount of land included in these and other settlements were not easily available; but judging from a statement received from the Office of the Board of Revenue, Land Revenue and Settlement of the Madras Presidency for the year 1929 the acreage is large.¹⁴ According to this statement, the Madras Government has assigned land for settlement by the depressed classes in twenty-five different districts, and of all the land so assigned, official inspection for that year had been made of 156,677.99 acres, of which 104,599.47 acres were found to be under actual cultivation. We infer from this statement, and from data gleaned from the *Directory of Christian Missions*, that while Protestant Christian missions have been intrusted with much of the colonization work of the Madras Presidency, other agencies are also working here in this field of service.

Withal, it is a fine point to determine how much self-direction should be permitted the sort of people available for land colonization; and it is equally as great a problem to determine whether, in the long run, most of such colonies are worth the trouble involved. It seems that settlers of the type usually available are so devoid of the inclination or the ability to undergo sustained industry, have such a poor social discipline, and are so short in other socio-moral qualities requisite for a continuous and responsible social order, that movements toward colonization are likely to be but little more than a great care to their sponsors and of only temporary advantage to the colonists themselves. Possibly, the torrid climate is the ultimate cause of these conditions and tendencies; but the quality of the population itself is probably the more immediate, hence the more important, cause.

THE RURAL RECONSTRUCTION UNIT

In trying to present a brief statement of what is being done in Village India toward social planning, three introductory observations should be made:

¹⁴ Letter from Secretary, A. R. MacEwen.

First, aside from a certain amount of systematic work done by the Government in agricultural extension, education, the auditing of coöperative societies, etc., very little is being done by responsible agencies toward a systematic and thorough social and economic organization of large political divisions, much less the whole of India.

Second, many agencies, including Christian missions, within limited territory and for more or less specific services, are doing promising pieces of organized work in social planning; but some of these agencies have not recognized suitably the presence of other similar agencies legitimately at work in the same field.

Third, the description of almost any specific piece of rural organization, especially since the recent visit to India of Dr. Butterfield, makes use of the term, "rural reconstruction unit"; hence this term needs consideration at this time. Dr. Butterfield states his conception of what the rural reconstruction unit in India should be in these words:

A Rural Reconstruction Unit is a group of contiguous villages, perhaps ten or fifteen in number, in which as full a program as possible of rural reconstruction service shall be made available to all the people. All agencies for educational, health, economic and social progress will be urged to pool their efforts through some form of community council in an attempt to get people to co-operate in building a new type of Indian rural community. The church must lead this endeavor to make the enterprise thoroughly Christian in spirit.¹⁵

Thus, in many missions, rural reconstruction is being planned. At Dornakal, the church itself is the agency for leading in rural reconstruction, and its efforts are rather narrowly confined to religious education and evangelization. At Ushagram, Sangli, Yeotmal, Anklesvar, Borsad, Allahabad, Katpadi, Chingleput and a number of other mission centers visited by the writer, the mission school was the chief agency in such rural reconstruction as was attempted.

The reconstruction programs of these schools, while including a few common elements, such as health education in its various forms, agricultural education, general education, the promotion of coöperative effort, etc., yet differ widely, as perhaps they should. Withal, much of the reconstruction program of many of these institutions is tentative and lacks clarity of visualization on the part of its sponsors.

Principal Kochak of the Government Agricultural School at Bulandshahr thinks that schools such as his might well be the energizing and the service centers of village reconstruction in India. According to his views, these schools should offer many kinds of courses adjusted in purpose, content, method, and time offered to the needs of important groups in the surrounding villages. These schools, besides doing practical farming and farm demonstration work open to public inspection, would encourage self-help on the part of the people and offer expert advice and services of many kinds. He thinks that twelve of these schools for the United Provinces,

¹⁵ Butterfield, Kenyon L., *The Christian Mission in Rural India*, Chap. V; also see the *Poona Report of the Conference on Rural Work*, p. 5.

and 500 for the whole of India, would make them close enough together to be within fairly easy access to the remotest villages in the unit-areas.

He further thinks the most important function of Christian missions in the work of rural reconstruction is the inauguration of needed reforms and the addition of moral qualities to the work of social agencies in the reconstruction unit-areas. As to the method of organization of these units, he makes two pithy suggestions: *First*, the economic status and the moral quality of the individual must be improved before reconstruction units of this kind can win much success; for one cannot combine twelve dead villages and automatically have a live resulting unit. *Second*, these units cannot be planted *de novo*, but must be developed gradually around centers of vital interest. Constituting these centers, he conceives, is the function of schools such as his.

The Young Men's Christian Association work, as developed in and about Martandam in the Travancore area by Dr. Hatch, illustrates another slightly different concept of the nature of the rural reconstruction unit. Under the active leadership of this socio-religious organization, many services of a community and nation-building value are performed. These include agricultural education, health education and village sanitation, recreation, coöperative marketing, leadership training, and other useful activities. While the Christian Church, no doubt, is functioning here as an energizing element, as a separate organization it is not focal in this activity; nor is the Government, as would naturally be the case if public schools such as Principal Kochak's should become the focal agencies of reconstruction.

The following facts are important:

First, there is a widespread consciousness among certain groups of the need for village improvement. But the writer is not prepared to say how deeply that consciousness is felt among the masses of villagers themselves; in fact, he is inclined to fear that, divorced from Western leadership and money, most of it might prove evanescent and temporary.

Second, there are enough projects of village reconstruction under way or planned, involving units of varying size, different methods, objectives and focal agencies, to constitute a real experimental laboratory in social organization. Through adequate research effort on the part of some central agency, these projects should be critically studied and reported.

Third, there is much loose and fanciful thinking as to the nature of rural reconstruction units, their functions, their practicability, etc. This seems especially true when we contemplate the iron-clad customs of the traditional Indian villages, the vastness and the poverty of the country, and the poor showing made along similar lines in most Western countries.

Fourth, much of the effort planned along the lines of rural reconstruction needs to be socialized, as well as guided by a leadership possessing a fundamental knowledge of social science. Leaders need training, especially in the principles of social organization.

A survey of what is being done often reveals the presence of "the lone wolf" sort of leadership, oblivious to the legitimate presence in the same area of other agencies and leaders; and much of the leadership bears

evidence of disinclination or inability to see beyond the externals of immediate activities to the more deep-lying, fundamental conditions and tendencies that are the only sound basis for such activities.

A GENERAL SUMMARY

In reflecting briefly upon the experience and the data of this inquiry, a few conclusions emerge with a fair degree of certitude.

First, with regard to the vast masses of people, poverty seems to be painfully present to color prejudicially their entire individual and social behavior.

Second, the center of population, as to numbers, is moving rather rapidly toward agriculture as an occupation. At present about three-fourths of the population are directly engaged in extractive agriculture.

Third, a large percentage of the industrially produced goods used by the people is imported and paid for by agricultural products exported, and India at this time shows no convincing signs of industrialization on a vast scale.

Fourth, because of the lack of improved methods of farming, and because of a continued movement toward the fragmentation and the reduction in the size of holdings, and withal because of a harder pressure of the population upon the land for support, it seems that the masses are gradually growing poorer. Relief might come in one or more of the following ways: A voluntary reduction in population increases; emigration in large numbers; industrialization on a rapid scale; improvement of agriculture and the bringing of additional large areas under cultivation through irrigation; and permitting pestilence and famine to renew their ravages unabated. None of these alternatives seem likely of adoption on a large scale in the near future.

Fifth, tradition, fatalism, and ignorance prevent the people from making rapid vocational and residential adjustments. With suitable vocational adjustments, India could probably support efficiently an even larger population than she has now. Withal, the quality of people, more than climate or other factors, is responsible for the present difficult position of India, so that new ideas, new energies, and new viewpoints are probably the greatest need of India to-day.

Sixth, in the work of Christian missions the highest good of India should be the central goal, and there should be a friendly coöperation of mission and non-mission forces in planning for the future.

CHAPTER II

MISSIONS AND THE PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE modern factory system has been in existence in India longer than in any other Oriental country. In certain cities factories of the modern type have been operating since the middle of the nineteenth century. While the number of factory employees compared with the total population is small—estimated at about one and a half million in 1929, or .44 per cent. of the total population*—the evils attendant upon industrial life are acute in some of the great manufacturing areas such as Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad.

In this study we shall consider the environmental factors of climate and society which have molded the Indian factory worker and review some of the good and evil results of industrial development; examine what has been the relation of missions and organized Christianity in the past to the social and economic problems which are at present inherent in industrial life; evaluate some of the things which have actually been done by Christian and non-Christian agencies to better conditions, and finally make some recommendations as to what, in the judgment of this Commission, the policy of missions should be in the future with reference to industrial problems.

I

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

(a) *Physical Features and Climate.*—India is a land of great geographical diversity and every type of climate from the snowy heights of the Himalayas to the torrid humidity of the Malabar Coast. These diversities in land and climate bring about wide variations in population density,—the greater number per square mile being in the Gangetic Plain and in the warm fertile deltas and coastal districts. Population density related to the capacity of the land to

* Report of *The Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 75.

produce is the greatest factor in determining the source of supply of factory labor which is one of the important elements entering into the choice of a factory location.

In India there are also other reasons which dictate factory location: transportation, supply of raw materials, and nearness to markets being the factors which also control. It happens for these reasons and others that the great bulk of India's modern industrial development is not located in the cooler regions of the far north, but is for the most part centered in the very hot areas of central and southern India. Nowhere else in the world is there such a large industrial development under tropical conditions.

A trying hot climate with long and enervating summers puts an excessive strain upon the operative. It favors the rapid growth of disease-bearing organisms and tends physiologically to make the factory worker slothful and inefficient. This means that the average operative in India does not work as near full time as does a worker in a cooler climate. A given operation requires a larger supply of operatives, with the result that wages are lower because each operative produces less. Wages are also kept down because the supply of labor is large, due in part to overcrowding on the land. Thus the benefits of industrial life are lessened and the task of coping with the social problems which develop is increased.

(b) *Social and Economic Factors.*—In addition to the effects of climate and physical conditions in molding industrial life, there are certain social and economic factors which should be considered.

The pressure of population upon the land is due not only to a natural fecundity which is evident in tropical countries, but to religious and family customs as well. Religious and family customs make the continuity of the family through sons a matter of supreme importance. Regardless of economic conditions, the birth rate is high in order to insure a succession of sons who can carry on the family rites and maintain family continuity.

The family is the most important group in India and the most potent environmental factor. Through its sons the family runs from generation to generation. Family property is pooled and administered by family heads. Members of the family do not think of themselves as individuals, but as part of a group to which they are bound by the closest and strongest ties. Family custom places a heavy burden upon the financially successful member or members to support relatives who are less fortunate. To aid the family is the greatest single reason why the worker from the country seeks factory employment. In one mill at Cawnpore the sum of Rs.30,000 per

month, out of a total payroll of Rs.60,000 per month, was sent by employees to their families in country districts. Such a situation is not unusual.

In India, among the Hindus, there is a peculiar social stratification known as the caste system. A caste is a group bearing a common caste designation, and usually having the same inherited occupation, so linked together by the tradition of a common origin and by the same social background, ceremonial observances and family priests, that its members are regarded as a single homogeneous community. The center of the system is the sanctity of class and status, which has a significance both social and religious. Its adherents carry the conviction that religion and morality will be injured if that sanctity is violated. Originally there were four castes: the Brahmins, usually priests and teachers; the Kshatriyas, warriors; the Vaisyas, merchants; and the Sudras, farmers; while now over two thousand different castes and subcastes are recognized in India.

For the most part the economic results of caste are bad. It is true that it is sometimes an advantage for a man to have a hereditary occupation. On the other hand, a man must, whether he likes it or not, follow his own caste calling, even though it may not be the calling he would prefer. Caste rules determine occupational methods and the choice of tools, and discourage experimentation. Certain castes must eat special food, specially prepared, which makes for economic maladjustment. Many social customs, countenanced or required by caste traditions and rules, such as marriage rites, and birth and death ceremonies, call for large expenditures, frequently leading to heavy indebtedness.* Debts incurred in this way are often the immediate cause of a person seeking employment in a factory.

Many factory employees are outcastes or members of the depressed classes. They have the lowest place in India's social system, are generally denied entrance to Hindu temples, cannot draw water from the village wells used by caste people and are burdened with the most menial and degrading tasks. They are the most ignorant element in India's population,—the poorest in mind and estate. They are, however, a product of caste, even though they are not actually a part of the caste system.

Another factor which tends to increase the supply of labor, and thus aid factory development, is found in the Indian Land System. Over large areas of India the ryot, or farmer, pays his taxes to the Government by means of a fixed quantity of the produce, paid in kind, known as "land revenue." Over other large areas—approx-

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, J. L. Hypes, *in loco*.

mately one half of British India—intermediaries known as zemindars, collect the taxes from the ryots, paying the Government a fixed amount, and keeping as much as they can for themselves. This system leads to many evils, and frequently, because of excessive taxation, the ryot falls hopelessly into debt. Land-holdings also become badly subdivided, since by Hindu law every male is entitled at birth to a share of the various grades of land. The per capita land-holdings of the peasants over the greater part of India are now so small that it is impossible to support properly the increasing agricultural population. Hence the peasant turns to factory employment as a means of relief, either because he has already lost his land through foreclosure or because he cannot get his subsistence from it. If possible, however, the Indian peasant will hold on to his land and undergo almost any privation in order to retain it. The depressed classes generally own very little land.

(c) *Religious Factors*.—The religious fatalism of India is proverbial, and also noticeable even to the casual observer. Initiative and ambition are inhibited by a servile submission to what are regarded as unavoidable and irremediable exactions of unseen spiritual forces. In adverse circumstances where the normal Occidental would gird up his loins, the Oriental shrugs his shoulders, taps his forehead and quits. If a Hindu, he says, "My Kharma is bad"; if a Mohammedan, he dismisses further effort with the words, "My Kismet is bad." This acquiescent attitude extinguishes the fire of human hope.

II

WESTERN CONTACTS AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

After India came under the control of the British in the eighteenth century, Western concepts of trade, politics, education and religion began to stir this society so firmly fixed by status and custom. By the middle of the nineteenth century Western shipping, trade and banking were well established and modern industrial life had begun in cities like Bombay. At first, the effect of factory life was hardly noticed. As time went on, however, and factories grew to be numerous in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad and Madras, the same evils appeared which had already developed in the West—bad housing, overcrowding, economic exploitation and disease. For example, in Ahmedabad,* which stands second in the cotton-mill industry in India, congestion, poor sanitation and inadequate housing are con-

* Ahmedabad Labour Union Survey (1930).

spicuous. A survey showed that more than one-third of the tenements were unfit for human habitation; that more than one-half of the population of the city live in one-room tenements; that it has the highest mortality rates of any city in the Presidency and that its mortality from respiratory diseases is the highest in all India. It is now too late to try to stem the tide of industrial development, although it is being retarded by leaders like Mr. Gandhi and others who are trying to revive the old handicrafts and household industries. Certain of the missions have made efforts to develop such handicrafts. When home industries or village workshops can, by the revival of an old artistry, manufacture products which by excellence of design or superior quality command a profitable market they should, in our opinion, be encouraged. It is also true that home industries give people a certain amount of productive activity, which is a desirable thing in itself, in keeping them happy and contented. When, however, home industries produce more of a standard product than can be used in the community and strive to compete in broader markets with standard factory-made articles, they are, as producers of wealth, in our opinion, doomed to fail eventually.

It is better to welcome industrialization and try to direct its development by Christian sincerity, than it is to try to turn back to the old ways. The new wine of today will not go into the old bottles. Coal and iron mining, iron and steel works, cotton-manufacturing and jute-making already employ over one million operatives. The growth of literacy, the circulation of newspapers, magazines and books, the transportation of goods and exchange of ideas, the steady increase of travel* and the ever widening use of Western languages and literature are evidence that it is impossible to turn back the hands of the clock. The pressure of debt and poverty continues to force many agricultural workers into factory life. The trend toward further industrial development, although temporarily retarded, seems to be irresistible.**

III

WHAT HAS CHRISTIANITY TO OFFER?

It is now pertinent to inquire just what Christianity has to offer to prevent the traditional evils of industrial development in the

* Railway travel in India for 1928-29 was approximately 21 billion passenger-miles, or an average per inhabitant (man, woman and child) of 62 miles.—*Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, 1931.

** See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma, in loco*; data by J. L. Hypes and Paul F. Cressey.

East. Can it bring helpful suggestions from its experience in the West? Should missionaries stimulate the introduction of scientific methods, and can they plan intelligently to improve living and working conditions? How can Christian leaders, in coöperation with others loyal to the ideals of justice and love, stimulate all in any given community to substitute the service motive for the profit motive and make the total industrial effort a part of the Kingdom of God? These are intensely practical questions, especially in this new era when Christianity in the Orient is waking to its essential genius and recasting itself at the same time that industrialism is still plastic there. No easy optimism will do, nor is there any single formula which assures solution. We counsel an open mind towards all possible social orders.* Let us see what the equipment of the boards and missionaries is for the stupendous task.

A mission is historically and actually an expression of the sponsoring church or denomination at home. In full recognition of the spiritual impulse, devotion and sacrifice of missionaries, it may be said, in general, that the missionary is a projection upon a foreign field of the ideas of the people in America. He carries their strength, their weakness, their theological concepts, their social convictions, their ideas of decorum and morals, their peculiar inhibitions and limitations as well as their power. We cannot understand the attitude of our missions toward the problems of poverty and industry unless we have in mind the Protestant churches of America.

Some of the virtues, which Protestantism in America possesses, tend to its undoing as a Christian body. The practice of the common requirements of aggressive effort, thrift and resourcefulness, tends in America to produce and accumulate wealth. This wealth brings an unconscious sense of superiority and sometimes arrogance and tends to erect a barrier between the successful Protestant and the less fortunate man, or victim of injustice, who is burdened with poverty and fears. This barrier the missionary unwittingly carried to India. He honestly felt that the practice of the "virtues" of Western success could be introduced into India with the same results (assumed to be good) that had accrued in America. He did not originally take into account sufficiently the difference in the available natural resources of the two countries and the differences in the social and religious backgrounds and life-attitudes of the two peoples; nor did he appreciate the social implications of his objective—the Kingdom of God.

Protestant missionaries went out to India, during the nineteenth

* See *Re-Thinking Missions*, pp. 252, 253.

century, at a time when there was no felt need for a social program in America. Therefore, no particular importance was attached to social programs for foreign fields. In fact, even the conception of the social message of Christianity was then practically unknown.

It is well to remember also that the early missionary was most deeply interested in the salvation of souls, that men at death might escape the wrath to come. Many missionaries themselves believed, and still believe, that a millennium is coming soon, perhaps in their own lifetime, when considerations like Indian misery and poverty, too heavy to be solved under the present regime, will be taken care of miraculously. Why bother, they say, to undertake programs of economic betterment in the face of far more important considerations?

The missionaries also thought that many of India's broad economic difficulties could be bettered by a change of religion. They had a conviction that if they preached the "good news" and gathered converts into the churches, such converts would soon be better off. They observed that the desire to raise large families, with the consequent poverty and over-population, arises out of the religious conviction that sons are necessary for future salvation. They witnessed the waste of material resources caused by the religious teaching that it is wrong to destroy life. They saw all around wastage and extravagance in funerals, weddings, and other ceremonial occasions, due to habits and customs closely related to religious faith. They witnessed the blighting of hope in India's traditional religious determinism. In his battle against superstitions, fears and fatalism, which form so large a part of the life of the poor of India, the missionary felt that a change of religion was absolutely necessary. If enough Christians could be developed so that a social group could be formed, such economic evils, he was confident, could be ameliorated.

There is much to be said for this point of view. The difficulty is that *it does not go far enough*. Leaders in the Christian church must also have an intelligent interest in social and economic questions in general, and sympathetically understand the new relationships implied in the acceptance of the ideal of the Kingdom of God, in which Indians have a deeper interest than in Westernized Christianity. Boards and missionaries must realize that not only the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing must be adequately provided, but also man's outreach for beauty, tranquillity, affection and justice must be encouraged before an ethical religion can be successfully nurtured. Too often the convert finds these only and partially on the Mission compound. It is to the credit of the missionary when he finds them

there. But an environment must be created where he can find them increasingly outside these compound areas.

IV

ADVANTAGES IN CHRISTIANITY

It will not do to dwell too long on the shortcomings of the missionaries and their sponsors at home. It is well to remember that essential Christianity has assets of great importance which can be drawn upon, and although our Western Christianity lacks social balance, that Christianity in the Orient, while yet in its formative stages, may recast itself so as to eclipse the West in its interpretation of the Kingdom-centered message of Christianity.

The ideals and ideas of Jesus when presented in their pure and simple form make a deep appeal to the Indian in all strata of society. The concept of God as a loving Father and of all men as brothers grips the imagination, especially of members of the depressed classes. Christianity provides the dynamic, the will, the urge to achieve a spiritual and social order wherein is righteousness. Christianity stresses the extreme value of the individual, as indeed does Islam. In Christianity, however, this value of the individual extends not only to men, but also to women. Woman under Christianity achieves a new dignity and a new worth. Furthermore, essential Christianity accents not only the sanctity of personality, but widens the bounds of brotherhood and fosters the achievement of corporate responsibility among all elements of the population.

It is sometimes difficult to point to obvious advantages of a social and economic nature accruing to Christians converted from Oriental religions. Health, however, will be instantly recognized as of great economic and social value. The following figures by Vera Anstey are pertinent. Speaking of the death rate of various classes in Indian society, she says:*

Highest	death	rate	in	1926	—Primitive tribes	—	38.4	per	1,000
Next	"	"	"	"	—Hindus	—	26.9	"	"
"	"	"	"	"	—Mohammedans	—	26.3	"	"
"	"	"	"	"	—Christians	—	21.3	"	"
Lowest	"	"	"	"	—Buddhists	—	20.8	"	"

She adds, however, that in most years Christians have the lowest death rate. Since most Christians come from the depressed and underprivileged classes, these figures are all the more significant.

* *The Economic Development of India*, p. 44.

V

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

Missionaries have, as a matter of practice perhaps more than as a matter of theory, taken steps to overcome poverty, although little has been done directly to curb the growth of industrial evils, or to undergird the Christian movement by a thoroughly Christian sociology.

Industrial schools have been one type of enterprise by which missionaries have tried to aid in economic betterment. Too often they have introduced Western methods which have made the student unwilling to go back to the village and farm; frequently they have been too artificial and mechanical and not closely enough related to the actual, stark, simple needs of India. We visited one industrial school where their records for determining the costs of producing the things which the boys were making, were worked out to four decimal places! So far as observed, many of these industrial schools were doing a good job; a few were excellent.* Although most of them were carried on as adjuncts of evangelism and their work sometimes suffered as a result, they represent one of the best efforts which missions are making to aid in the problem of developing men and women for worthier participation in the more complicated life now developing in India.

While there are many industrial schools which doubtless could be cited, we mention one which seems to those of us who observed it, to illustrate an excellent method of industrial school operation, blending as it does work for hand and mind. This is Ushagram Industrial School near Asansol. It was originally a mission school of the stereotyped form with a large compound and an unusually spacious bungalow for the missionary. When the present missionary and his wife came they abandoned the large old residence formerly occupied by the missionary, and rearranged it for a school building. Then they built for themselves a mud house, doing this work largely with their own hands. By this act, and in other ways, they began to demonstrate to the boys and girls how industrial knowledge and skill can be used in enriching their everyday lives. Ushagram is a school community of some 450 boys and girls and 30 teachers. About 125 boys and girls with 22 teachers are resident in the school, which is built in the form of a village, on a campus of about 50 acres. Boys and girls and teachers live in small but neat clay cottages largely built

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma, in loco*.

with their own hands. The students manage all their own affairs through elected councils (panchayats). They have their own bank, post-office, coöperative store, library, farm, gardens and shops. The work of education continues from the nursing grades through to university matriculation. The school is co-educational through the Second Standard (fourth class from the beginning), after which it branches into two separate organizations. In addition to the regular course each student must choose a vocation and pass an examination in it before he is allowed to take the university examination. The vocations offered include: (for boys) Carpentry, Agriculture, Printing, Bookbinding, Tinsmithing, Weaving, Home Science, Cookery, Sewing, Art and Music. Manual labor is a part of the curriculum. A large part of the care of buildings and grounds, cooking and housework, is done by the students. At this school they demonstrate their Christianity by deeds. A boy or girl is not urged to change his religion, but to become the best possible exemplar of the religion he has. The missionaries naturally tell about Christianity upon request. It works out that such requests are gratifyingly frequent. A worship service is offered regularly which is Indian in its setting and procedure.

The better types of practical school, like Ushagram, seem to be those which train the pupil in initiative, give him a certain amount of technical skill, and do not tend to separate him too far from the environment in which he will later be placed. They teach the dignity of labor and develop habits of industry and thrift. Their students tend to lift the economic and socio-religious level of the communities to which they eventually go.

The missions have also included in their programs the development of local industries, such as soap-making, lace-making, basket-making, cloth-weaving, and other home operations. By the establishment of new enterprises and by the improvement of methods already in use, missions stimulate immediate economic improvement. Such programs give practical-minded missionaries an opportunity for effective work. They serve as a spur to initiative on the part of the Indians themselves. When properly conceived and carried out—with the view of directly relating themselves to the capacity and needs of the Indian—such enterprises seem to meet a great need in India today.

Something has been done by missions in the way of establishing social and community centers.* It may be well to describe a social-settlement enterprise now being carried on under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which

* Examples: Friendship Center in Satara; Social Centers at Vellore and Ranipet.

is the most conspicuous social *settlement* operated by a mission in India, although the Salvation Army is also doing significant work in its own way in this general field.

Nagpada Neighborhood House at Byculla, Bombay, was established in 1927 in a building entirely paid for with American money. It is fairly well equipped for all kinds of settlement work. It aims to be a general center for the adjacent neighborhood, which is a crowded section of the city. The near-by population is largely Moslem and Jewish. The program of the House is sixfold:

1. Furthering family integrity
2. Bettering public health
3. Bettering economic conditions
4. Furthering the general intelligence
5. Furthering law observance and morality
6. Furthering public spirit and neighborhood coöperation.

Nagpada House has formed many clubs composed of men of different religions—music clubs, debating clubs, and boxing and volley-ball clubs. Workers pay friendly visits to homes in the neighborhood. They have a body-welfare clinic and two welfare visitors. It tries to keep men and boys off the streets, to provide interesting entertainment and games to break down caste exclusiveness and to reduce friction and ill-will between the different religious communities. In a small way it has attempted to train social workers. No evangelistic work is carried on in this house. No attempt is made to preach Christianity to any of the people who use the house. An attempt is made, however, to develop latent religious idealism in those who come and to make them better Hindus or Moslems or Jews or Christians, as the case may be. The aim is to make for decent living and the building of character regardless of religious affiliations. Christianity will be explained to any who may ask about it, but no pressure is exercised on any individual to prompt such inquiry. The aim of Nagpada House is to express Christianity by unselfish Christian service. It meets real social needs. It feels that it will be hampered in trying to meet these needs if it attempts to proselytize. It stands for the idea that social-settlement work is an end worthy in itself, and that it should not be mixed up with attempts to proselytize for any religion, but that its best service consists in exemplifying Christianity by deeds and not in trying to promote it by words. This settlement house is highly regarded by the business community of Bombay, and a large percentage of its operating budget (excluding the salary of missionary in charge) is provided by contributions from Bombay

business houses and individuals not in any way connected with the mission.

VI

OTHER AGENCIES

It should be mentioned that there are other social agencies at work which are non-Christian in name but thoroughly Christian in spirit. One of these is the Children's Aid Society of Bombay, which carries on a much-needed work along the lines which its name implies. Many industrial plants carry on social work; notable among these are the Empress Mills at Nagpur and the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur: both of these enterprises are owned by Parsis.

The Servants of India Society, indebted to Christian sources and influencing the social-service movements of missions in return, is one of the most influential social-service organizations in India.* This society, founded in 1905 by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, is a small group of men (now numbering 21) who have pledged their lives to sacrificial service for India. A period of probation is necessary. Remuneration is nominal. Only men of exceptional ability and devotion are accepted. Although its initial efforts were in the field of politics, where it achieved remarkable success of international significance by constitutional means, it has accomplished significant things in its educational, economic and social activities, including especially successful efforts in the field of labor and for the depressed classes.

It is a non-sectarian and non-communal group which also seeks to overcome all caste distinctions. Its members were the originators of Seva Sadan (Poona), the Social Service Leagues of Bombay and Madras and similar organizations in many places in India. Two of this little group were members of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. It publishes three newspapers and several bulletins. Valuable pamphlets have been written and circulated. The influence of this unusual group is extraordinary.

VII

LARGER PROGRAMS

In addition to these local enterprises, schools, settlement houses and welfare work of various kinds, there is need for still more far-

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma, in loco*.

reaching programs. Wise planning and work for the eradication and prevention of industrial evils seem imperative. This involves dealing with such extremely difficult questions as caste, taxation, social and economic privilege, debt and ownership of land, and justice in the creation and distribution of wealth; all types of socio-political orders should be studied. These problems are so stupendous that it is hard to know what plans to suggest and still harder to carry them out wisely and effectively. The incapacity of the Indian for helping himself, due perhaps to climate, disease, ignorance and the heavy hand of social and religious tradition, makes a baffling and almost insuperable barrier to his economic betterment. The history of missions shows many attempts, conceived in hope and carried on with enthusiasm, but which have failed because of ignorance of the underlying conditions of worthy success.

A School of Research.—Therefore, as an indispensable prelude to any widespread program for dealing with industrial or general economic evils it seems necessary to have a school of research where such problems can be thoroughly studied. Ways of achieving the Kingdom of God is the primary objective of Christian research. Possibly some existing Christian schools or department can be used or developed. If not, we recommend that there be established in India a School of Economic, Industrial and Social Research, which shall receive the heartiest coöperation from the missions and as far as possible necessary financial support.

Such an enterprise has been suggested in the Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, and it should, we think,

- (a) Do research work in the fields of Economics, Sociology, and Industry;
- (b) Serve as a clearing-house for ideas being developed anywhere in the world which tend to economic and social betterment;
- (c) Be so located that it may serve as a center for the practical demonstration and application of Economics and Sociology to the community;
- (d) Offer honors and post-graduate work in the fields of Economics, Social Relationships and Industry;
- (e) Issue bulletins and other publications from time to time in English and in the vernaculars, giving the results of investigations made by itself or by others in the fields it covers;
- (f) Coöperate to the fullest extent with all agencies, governmental

and otherwise, doing similar work in order that wasteful duplication may be avoided.

The need for such a Research School in India is very great indeed. Industrial questions are being raised there, the solution of which will have a profound effect on India's future and on the welfare of her people. Among the first problems presented to such a school should be those that are urgently immediate, without neglect of the basic and ultimate.

There are also many general questions which should receive consideration. The following questions, propounded to a prominent Government official, indicate the type of general problem with which such a School of Research might in part occupy itself:

- (a) Does India need industrial development of the power-factory type for its own survival and growth?
- (b) In view of the present political situation and uncertain political future, will India be able to secure from abroad, or produce in itself, the necessary capital for its industrial development?
- (c) Should the future industrial development be predominantly urban, as in the West, or predominantly rural? If it should be rural, how could such development be achieved in view of the present economic advantages in the concentration of industries in the cities?
- (d) What are the best methods for raising the economic status of the villager, whether Christian outcaste, Hindu or Mohammedan?
- (e) Will it be possible for India to avoid the social evils which have always accompanied industrial development in the West?
- (f) Can Christian missions help in any effective way in the training for social leadership, or in working with existing social agencies in order to relieve the social and economic difficulties which have always followed industrial developments?

Training Indian Social Workers.—In addition to the School of Research we recommend the establishment of schools for the development of trained Indian social workers. With the increase in factory industrial life already begun in the Orient, the need for students of social problems and trained social workers becomes increasingly evident. There are some hopeful signs that the need for such a school is appealing to mission leaders. Wilson College at Bombay is plan-

ning to introduce courses for training social workers. The labor unions at Ahmedabad also have such a school, but we have no reliable data regarding it.

VIII

RECOMMENDATIONS

India stands at the crossroads: one road leads to a revival of handicrafts and away from factory development; the other leads toward industrial development on Western models. Without in any way attempting to minimize the advantages of a revival of handicrafts, it should be pointed out that there are certain advantages to a worker in factory employment. Factories are subject to Government regulations as to hours of labor, sanitation and fresh air. There are opportunities for the operative to band himself with other operatives to secure better pay and working conditions. Factory life tends to break caste, and life in a factory town widens a man's horizon. We therefore do not regret, under proper planning, the beginnings of factory life in India, and believe that such development, with Christian insight and loyalty to the Kingdom of God, will bring general and fundamental betterment.

Many of the ingredients for an industrial development are present—many unemployed or poorly paid, many raw materials and an enormous potential home market.* The factory system has already made very substantial beginnings and some of its evils have appeared. Already lines of demarcation between employer and employee are becoming clearly defined. Already there have been industrial exploitation, conflicts, strikes, lockouts, sabotage and other bad phases of factory life, as in the West. What contribution can the missions make toward eliminating the unjust features of industrial life and helping to maintain harmonious relations among those concerned? Christianity has a message to *individuals*—to capitalist, manager and employee,—and deeply, also, to *all* as members of *one* human family. If individuals are properly touched with the spirit of Christ, they will regard the welfare of one another as their own. But, more than that, missions can perform at present a very real service by trying to understand and to sympathize with those men who group themselves together as organized labor. To that end, therefore, we recommend that

* "Despite the development of the Indian cotton industry, India is still the largest single import market in the world for cotton goods."—Paul F. Cressey, *Fact-Finders' Reports, India-Burma, in loco*.

missions cultivate friendly contacts with labor organizations which are doing constructive work in promoting harmonious industrial relations. The Textile Labor Union at Ahmedabad, a large textile center, is a case in point. Their leader, Shankalal Bankar, a Hindu, is so highly regarded that he is also the secretary of the Spinners' Association (the manufacturers' association). Such men may be the hope of India in industrial relations. Others should be sought out and wherever found should be made to feel that they have a friend in every missionary. In encouraging such men—sane leaders of labor—lies perhaps the best hope of combating the evils which are likely to develop in the activities of such groups.

This Commission has observed with deep regret that there seems to be a great gulf fixed between most European and American business men and the missionaries, especially in the largest cities. Whatever may be the reasons, this is unfortunate for both. It would be a splendid thing for business men, could they come to know better the missionaries and their families, and learn accurately about their problems and their aims. It would also be wholesome for the missionaries if they could recruit business men not only as friends, but also as trustees associated in the control of hospitals, schools and other social welfare enterprises.

We recommend that missionaries work more sympathetically and heartily with such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and other organizations such as the Servants of India, for social and economic uplift. This does not mean that the missionary must endorse all their ideas or methods. But since those organizations are in some respects better able to deal with certain social problems than the missions, they should receive from missionaries encouragement and friendly support.

An illustration of Y.M.C.A. work, which does receive missionary endorsement, is the significant piece of economic service in the rural field, the work of coöperative marketing, carried on by the Y.M.C.A. at Travancore. Here under Indian supervision the Indian cultivator, where he resides, is assisted in the improvement of his product and in the sale of this product through coöperative action at materially improved prices. This work is carried on with the warmest endorsement and coöperation of the Christian missions in the neighborhood. It is significant because it points the way to a service which, so far as can be seen, could be duplicated in a wide way throughout India.

Another problem brought about by industrial development has to do with the difficulties which beset a person when he moves from the country to a city to enter factory employment. This Commission

believes that the missions should develop an inter-denominational system of comity and coöperation, so that a Christian man or family moving from country to city, or from city to city, may not be entirely lost in the city to which he has come. This will not only prevent wastage in our churches, but will also keep a man from falling into bad company and bad habits. Here is an excellent opportunity for coördinated denominational efforts.

IX

CONCLUSION

Finally, all through the missionary program there should be developed more interest in research before embarking on any betterment enterprise. This is especially important for mission colleges, where research of various kinds may at times be undertaken. Such enterprises, to be successful, in addition to personal consecration and devotion, require a scientific study of facts leading to careful planning before action is undertaken. Missions should coöperate in all enterprises for justice and brotherhood, and should freely learn from the successes and failures of others in the same line of work.

Many plans not mentioned here are being adopted in banking, trade, agriculture and manufacturing, to help the Indian to help himself. With many of them, missions, to their great and everlasting credit, are already concerned. We realize that, in making these suggestions for additional efforts, we are proposing to add new burdens to already over-burdened missionaries, and new responsibilities to already over-harassed boards. These recommendations, however, do not call for many additional funds. The school facilities, in part, already exist. These suggestions are of a character to appeal to givers, and it is possible that they might be entirely financed in India. The great essential seems to be the will on the part of the missionaries to attempt to *solve* scientifically and religiously the problems raised or made more acute by the introduction of industry. Every means available must be tried first to learn what to do and then to do it.

COLLATERAL DATA

Excerpts from "The Economic and Social Background of Christian Mission Work in Village India," Fact-Finders' Reports, J. L. Hypes.

PER CAPITA INCOME

It will be interesting to compare the figures for the per capita income of India with those of some of the other countries of the world. The following table taken from a paper by Sir Josiah Stamp, on the *Wealth and Income of the Chief Powers*, is interesting.¹

INCOME OF THE CHIEF POWERS

Country	Income per Capita in 1914
United States of America	£72
United Kingdom	50
Australia	54
Canada	40
France	38
Germany	30
Italy	23
Spain	11
Japan	6
India	3

In 1926, the per capita income of the United States was estimated to be Rs.1,925 and that of Great Britain Rs.1,000, while the estimate for India varies from Rs.67 to Rs.116. Numerical comparisons between two countries are often misleading, because conditions vary from country to country and consequently requirements and standards also vary. However, the tremendous differences between the incomes of the more favored nations and that of India lead to only one conclusion, and that is, the masses of India, when compared with the people of certain other countries of the world, are undergoing a grinding poverty.

LABOR EFFICIENCY

In discussing the general inefficiency of labor in India, Saunders, quoting from Stuart Chase in *Men and Machines*, presents a comparative table on labor efficiency, showing India's relative position among a number of countries. The table follows:²

RELATIVE WORK OUTFIT

China	1.0
British India	1.25
Russia	2.5

¹ Wadia and Joshi, *Wealth of India*.

² Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 89.

RELATIVE WORK OUTFIT (*Continued*)

Italy	2.75
Japan	3.5
Poland	6.0
Holland	7.0
France	8.25
Australia	8.50
Czecho-Slovakia	9.5
Germany	12.0
Belgium	16.0
Great Britain	18.0
Canada	20.0
United States of America	30.0

Excerpts from "The Industrial and Urban Development of India," Fact-Finders' Reports, Paul F. Cressey.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH WORKING CONDITIONS INSIDE THE FACTORIES

Industrial labor in India is extremely inefficient. Climatic conditions have much to do with this, as well as the poor physical condition of many of the workers. Low standards of living, poverty, and long hours of labor are also factors. Indian factories are not always equipped with the most efficient machinery, and some of the material they use is of low grade. The Indian workman has not thoroughly adapted himself to the speed and routine of modern industry. He often absents himself from work for the most trivial reasons. In regard to the efficiency of the Indian industrial laborer, the Royal Commission on Labour concludes that "the Indian worker produces less per unit than the worker in any other country claiming to rank as a leading industrial nation" (p. 208).

The Indian has been very reluctant to become a factory worker. Although the decay of many handicraft trades has thrown thousands of persons out of employment, these people have not turned to factory work in any large numbers. Until recent years modern industry has been faced with a chronic shortage of labor and has often had to go to considerable expense in the recruitment of workers. This condition, however, has changed at present, and there is now an oversupply of industrial labor with considerable unemployment.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OUTSIDE THE FACTORIES

It is common for the worker to leave his wife and children in his village while he seeks employment in some distant industrial center. While he may remit part of his monthly wages to his family, the ordinary worker usually revisits his native village only at intervals of one or two years. The worker lives under very abnormal social conditions in the crowded industrial center and often becomes an easy victim of vice and other temptations.

The people (in the industrial areas) have been uprooted and find themselves in a *milieu* of strange traditions, or no traditions at all. The customs and sanctions, good and bad alike, to which

they have been accustomed are all weakened. The ties which give village life its corporate and organic character are loosened, new ties are not easily formed, and life tends to become more individual.³

Even if the worker brings his family with him to the industrial center, he ordinarily can find no adequate housing accommodations. The great industrial cities are characterized by miles of hovels which surround the large industrial plants. The general living conditions of the industrial population of India present one of the most serious problems in the modern industrial field. So unsanitary are the ordinary living quarters that the death-rates reach almost unbelievable heights. These conditions will be discussed in more detail in the part of this report dealing with the general social problems of the large cities.

The inefficiency of Indian labor is closely related to its poverty and its extremely low standards of living. An important factor in this poverty is the indebtedness of the average industrial worker. The magnitude of the problem is indicated in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*:

It is estimated that, in most industrial centres, the proportion of families or individuals who are in debt is not less than two-thirds of the whole. We believe that, in the majority of cases, the amount of debt exceeds three months' wages and is often far in excess of this amount (p. 224).

As already pointed out in the preceding report by Dr. J. L. Hypes, debt is a difficult problem in most rural districts, but it is often more serious in industrial areas. Because the worker has little security to offer for a loan, he usually has to pay very high interest rates, 75 per cent. and 150 per cent. a year being common charges. Practically none of this borrowing is for economically productive purposes, but is for social expenditures involved in weddings and festivals. Thousands of workers become so deeply in debt that they are practically in bondage to the loan sharks. Outside most large factories on pay day are to be seen a group of money lenders waiting to collect their dues. There is little encouragement to efficiency or hard work when any increase in wages will merely be appropriated by the waiting money-lenders.

THE GROWTH OF LARGE CITIES

The development of modern commerce and industry has resulted in the growth of various large cities. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were all established by the East India Company as trading posts and their growth is due to their trade and industry. Karachi and Rangoon are the most important subsidiary ports, and their growth in the last fifty years has been more rapid than that of any other cities in India. Cities located at the junctions of important railway systems have developed rapidly, attracted industries and acquired general trading importance. The ac-

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 17.

companying table indicates the size and rate of growth of the most important industrial and commercial cities of India.

IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CITIES OF INDIA, 1921, AND RATE OF GROWTH 1872-1921*

	Population 1921	Percentage of Increase 1872-1921
Calcutta and suburbs	1,327,547	66
Bombay	1,175,914	83
Madras	526,911	33
Rangoon	341,962	246
Lahore	281,781	79
Ahmedabad	274,007	113
Karachi	216,883	282
Cawnpore	216,436	72
Nagpur	145,193	72
Madura	138,894	166
Sholapur	119,581	124

* Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1927-28, p. 10.

SEX-RATIO OF URBAN POPULATION

The proportion of men to women in any particular city is an important index to many aspects of its social organization. The extremely abnormal sex-ratio in some of the leading industrial and commercial cities of India is indicated in the following table.

SEX-RATIO OF THE POPULATION OF CERTAIN CITIES OF INDIA, 1921 AND 1931*

	Number of Females per 1,000 Males	
	1921	1931
Calcutta and Suburbs	500	475
Bombay	524	553
Madras	908	896
Rangoon	444	478
Lahore	571	—
Ahmedabad	763	—
Karachi	629	697
Cawnpore	667	698
Nagpur	864	852
Madura	976	—
Sholapur	894	880

* Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1927-28, p. 10; *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 246 (1931).

MIGRATION

The cities that have grown most rapidly and have had the greatest industrial development generally have the highest proportion of citizens who have moved from some other locality.

THE PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CERTAIN LARGE CITIES, 1921*

	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Calcutta and Suburbs	62.9
Bombay	84.0
Madras	33.5
Rangoon	67.7
Lahore	44.0
Ahmedabad	39.7
Karachi	60.5
Cawnpore	42.5
Nagpur	25.8
Madura	17.8
Sholapur	39.1

* Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-28*, p. 11.

INFANT MORTALITY

INFANT MORTALITY-RATES FOR CERTAIN INDIAN CITIES AND FOR THE PROVINCES
IN WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED *

	<i>Infant Mortality Rate</i>	<i>Rate for Province in Which City is Located for 1928</i>
Calcutta	245 (1929)	178
Bombay	298 (1929)	180
Madras	257 (1929)	184
Rangoon	294 (1927)	210
Ahmedabad	331 (1928)	180
Karachi	207 (1928)	180
Cawnpore	415 (1929)	160
Nagpur	299 (1928)	238
Sholapur	247 (1928)	180

* Data collected from various reports.

WELFARE WORK BY PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

Quite a number of the larger industrial concerns carry on welfare work for their employees. In many cases housing accommodations are provided for workers. Some of these quarters are very bad, as in the coal-mining area, while others are quite good. The best factories provide medical attendance and have nurseries for the small children of workingwomen. Schools are provided by some concerns. Special welfare officers are employed by several companies.

The industries owned by the Tatas are noted for their elaborate welfare programs. Most of the best welfare work, however, is being done by foreign companies, such as the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras and the British Indian Corporation in Cawnpore. The great foreign-owned jute mills near Calcutta are extremely deficient in welfare work. Yet one of the two American mills, the Angus Jute Mill, conducts an excellent medical service costing the company considerably more than Rs.100,000 a year. Many of the railways have established provident funds to supply retiring allowances for their employees. The twelve leading railways spend approximately Rs.10,000,000 a year on welfare work, a half of which goes to medical relief and a quarter to

sanitation. Welfare work, however, is not typical of Indian industry as a whole. The smaller plants, with less capital, usually do nothing at all for their work people.

Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1931). Extract.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

"Emigration has always arisen mainly from the difficulty of finding an adequate livelihood in one's native place, and this is the predominant force which impels the Indian villager to seek industrial employment. Over large parts of India, the number of persons on the land is much greater than the number required to cultivate it and appreciably in excess of the number it can comfortably support. In most areas, pressure on the land has been increasing steadily for a long time and a rise in the general standard of living has made this pressure more acutely felt. There has always been a substantial class of landless labourers, earning a meagre living in good seasons and apt to be reduced to penury in bad ones. The loss of land through indebtedness, the need or desire of a landlord to increase his own cultivation, quarrels, the death of the title-holder and other causes, bring fresh recruits to this class. Among those who retain tenancies, various changes may operate to render a holding insufficient for those dependent on it. An increase in the number of members of the family, a rise in rent, the growth of debt, all contribute to force the agricultural worker to abandon his ancestral occupation.

"Moreover, there are always large areas where the soil can produce enough for the people in the ordinary year, but where periodic drought or floods make living precarious. A generation ago there was, in some of these areas, no alternative to facing the penury of the lean years; but the opening up of the country by the improvement of communications has offered a way of escape. Migration has, in fact, been dependent upon opportunity. It is noteworthy, for example, that where a connection was established between a factory and a particular village or group of villages, recruits would continue to come from these, while adjacent areas yielded none. Some of the minor currents in the streams of migration owe their force to little more than accident.

VILLAGE CRAFTS

"It must not be supposed that the economic pressure which drives the villager to the city is confined to those engaged in agriculture. The village craftsman, working formerly within an isolated economic unit, finds himself, by the improvement of communications and the growth of industry, subjected to competition from the larger world. The textile mills have many weavers drawn from families that, for generations previously, worked at handlooms; the village worker in hides and leather, the carpenter and the blacksmith are all being subjected to pressure from the factory. In many cases the easiest, perhaps the only, way out of the

difficulty is for the village craftsman to transfer his allegiance to the rival which is supplanting him.

DISABILITIES

"Poverty, though it is the most important, is not the only disability which drives the villager to the factory. All over India there are strata of the population who suffer from serious social disabilities; the lower castes and those who are regarded as outside the pale of Hindu society find that in the industrial areas caste disabilities lose much of their force. With the growing realization of the humiliation of their position and of the freedom which industry offers, there is an increasing readiness to migrate to industrial centres. In addition to the bondage which caste may inflict, there are other bonds which, if they were not consciously felt to be hardships a generation ago, are steadily becoming more irksome to those subjected to them. There are traces of feudalism to be found in many parts of the country; and in a few areas there is still a system of bond-service which is not far removed from slavery. We deal with this factor in a later chapter for, although it is responsible for some migration, that migration is not, as a rule, to the factories. But it is obvious that every disability to which men are subjected in the village adds attractions to the avenues of escape which industry offers. In addition to those who migrate to escape from destitution or disabilities, there are those who for individual reasons, find it better to leave the village, for a time at any rate. The new world of industry offers a refuge to those who are anxious to escape from family conditions that have become intolerable, or from the penalties of the law, or from the more severe penalties with which the village visits offences against its social and moral codes.

CAUSES OF RETENTION OF VILLAGE CONNECTION

"These causes serve to explain the move from the village to the factory, and by applying them to conditions in different rural areas it is easy to account for the main streams of migration. But they do not explain the most striking element in this migration, which is the retention of the village connection. The reasons for this feature are complex and raise psychological issues. But, in our opinion, the chief cause is to be found in the fact that the driving force in migration comes almost entirely from one end of the channel, i.e., the village end. The industrial recruit is not prompted by the lure of city life or by any great ambition. The city, as such, has no attraction for him and, when he leaves the village, he has seldom an ambition beyond that of securing the necessities of life. Few industrial workers would remain in industry if they could secure sufficient food and clothing in the village; they are pushed, not pulled, to the city.

THE FAMILY AND THE VILLAGE

"A contributory cause is the joint family system which, by linking the emigrant to the village and even to its soil, serves to keep connections

alive in many cases. Moreover, the comparative scarcity of employment for women and children in factories encourages the practice of leaving the family in the village, where their maintenance is more simple and less costly. In the perennial factories as a whole more than three-quarters of the workers are males over fifteen years; and the children form a small proportion of the remainder. On the other hand the village offers at least intermittent work for everyone, even for small children. Further, where migration has resulted less from the lack of land than from the precarious character of its yield, there are obvious economic advantages in retaining interests in it. Even where relatives have not been left in the village, the ties of generations are strong. To a large extent, Indian life is a community life and the more individualistic existence inseparable from a city is strange and unattractive to the villager.

CONTRAST OF ENVIRONMENT

"Finally, an important cause of the desire of the factory workers to maintain village connections is to be found in the environment in which they must live while employed in the factories. We deal with this later and merely observe here that no one who is familiar both with village conditions and with the factory areas can be surprised that so few workers are ready to establish in the latter a permanent home. We do not desire to suggest that the village is always, or even generally, an idyllic place; but the average factory worker, contrasting the scenes in which he has to live with his memories of his native place, must welcome every opportunity of returning there and must cherish constantly the hope that, sooner or later, he can leave the city finally behind."—Pp. 14, 15, 16, 17.

Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1931). Extract.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE FACTORY WORKER

SUPPLY OF LABOUR

"Throughout the greater part of its history, organized industry in India has experienced a shortage of labour. A generation ago, this shortage was apt at times to become critical. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, after the plague epidemics, the difficulties of employers were acute, especially in Bombay; and in 1905 the complaints of employers in Bengal and the United Provinces led to an official enquiry into the causes of the shortage. Thereafter the position became easier in the factory industries, but even in these, before the war, few employers were assured of adequate labour at all seasons of the year. Some industries, such as tea-planting, particularly in Assam, are still in constant need of more workers. Others, such as coal-mining, experience a distinct shortage at certain seasons. Perennial factories, on the other hand, have now reached a position in which most of them have sufficient labour at all seasons and there is a surplus of factory labour at several centres. The change has been gradual, and it has proceeded at a different pace in

different centres. In some areas, the opening years of the war witnessed a change, but the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 exercised everywhere a retarding influence. Speaking generally, it would be true to say that the turning point came during the last five years. Up to that stage, labour tended to have the upper hand in that there was competition for its services; since then the tendency has been for the workers to compete for jobs. The question of the supply of suitable labour is one of vital importance for the future of industry and of labour, and it is worth while considering whether or not the change is likely to be permanent.

CAUSES OF SCARCITY

"The scarcity of labour in the past can be traced to a number of factors. Of these the most obvious was the growth of Indian industry. To a large extent factories, mines and even railways are the creation of the last generation. They employed conjointly about half a million persons in 1892, and about two and a half million persons in 1929. Every year employers increased their demands, so that recruiting had to provide not merely for replacement, but also for an appreciable addition. The population, it is true, was increasing, but not at the same rate, and two great epidemics, those of plague in 1896-97 and of influenza in 1918-19, had marked effects on the industrial population. The factories, moreover, were able to draw only on limited areas. Lack of adequate communications prevented an easy flow of labour, and lack of general contact with, or knowledge of, the cities was an even greater obstacle. In some areas recruiting was confined to a few villages where connections had been established, adjacent villages making no contributions. Finally, conditions in most centres were not calculated to attract labour or to retain it. As we have indicated, they are far more ideal today; but to the factory worker of the present time the conditions in which his father worked would seem intolerable.

FUTURE PROSPECT

"Factory industry in India, as elsewhere in the world, is today less prosperous than it has been. We believe that the check to progress is temporary, and that, given settled conditions, factory industry has still a long period of expansion before it. Communications have improved steadily and should advance much further. The spread of knowledge is opening up new ground for possible recruits, while there is at present little sign of a diminution in the pressure on the land. Lastly, and most important of all, conditions in factories are improving generally. We believe that the amelioration which has been effected since 1920, by legislative and other methods, has had a large share in producing the change which has occurred. If our analysis of the factors concerned is accurate, Indian factories are at the beginning of a period of plentiful labour. Grave calamities, such as a serious epidemic, might produce a temporary reversal of the position; but in normal circumstances, there is little likelihood of a shortage of labour in the near future in perennial factories."—Pp. 21, 22.

TABLE TO SHOW BY PROVINCES THE NUMBER OF MINES UNDER MINES ACT AND THEIR AVERAGE DAILY WORKING STRENGTH IN 1929*

Province	Coal			Manganese Ore			Mica			Other Mines			All Mines		
	Mines	Numbers Employed		Mines	Numbers Employed		Mines	Numbers Employed		Mines	Numbers Employed		Mines	Numbers Employed	
		Under-ground	Total		Under-ground	Total		Under-ground	Total		Under-ground	Total		Under-ground	Total
Madras .....	..	..	..	8	..	1,516	77	1,868	4,176	19	113	1,786	104	1,981	7,478
Bombay ....	..	..	..	11	35	3,680	..	..	..	27	..	5,068	38	35	8,748
Bengal	208	29,497	44,303	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	874	216	29,497	45,177
United Provinces	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Punjab	16	389	743	..	..	..	..	..	..	51	301	5,330	51	301	5,330
Bihar and Orissa ...	273	59,321	108,616	12	260	1,673	397	8,002	12,044	124	291	16,523	806	67,874	138,856
Central Provinces	29	5,376	7,656	94	916	20,374	..	..	..	39	38	5,995	162	6,330	34,025
Assam	9	2,159	4,128	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	2,159	4,128
Minor Administrations	13	160	212	..	..	..	24	129	335	35	124	365	72	413	912
British India excluding Burma ..	548	96,902	165,658	125	1,211	27,243	498	9,999	16,555	332	1,999	40,816	1,503	110,111	250,272
Burma .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	229	6,834	19,429	229	6,834	19,429
British India	548	96,902	165,658	125	1,211	27,243	498	9,999	16,555	561	8,833	60,245	1,732	116,945	269,701

* Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, p. 106.

A TABLE ON SEASONAL INDUSTRIES*

Industry	Number of Factories			Number of Operatives		
	India	Burma	Total	India	Burma	Total
<i>A. Predominantly Seasonal</i>						
Cotton ginning and pressing	2,149	27	2,176	136,666	3,321	139,987
Tea factories	934	—	934	63,064	—	63,064
Jute pressing	115	—	115	37,300	—	37,300
Others	280	7	287	11,368	276	11,644
Total (A)	3,478	34	3,512	248,398	3,597	251,995
<i>B. Partially Seasonal</i>						
Rice mills	998	608	1,606	36,529	39,685	76,214
Oil mills	219	25	244	10,258	1,237	11,495
Gur and sugar factories	44	1	45	14,726	350	15,076
Tobacco factories ..	16	—	16	9,922	—	9,922
Others	238	17	255	21,738	926	22,664
Total (B)	1,515	651	2,166	93,173	42,198	135,371
Total (A) and (B)	4,993	685	5,678	341,571	45,795	387,366
<i>C. Perennial</i>						
Textiles	455	3	458	695,743	667	696,412
Engineering and metals	806	65	871	295,068	19,597	314,665
Others	899	223	1,122	122,708	32,018	154,726
Total (C)	2,160	291	2,451	1,113,521	52,282	1,165,803
Total (A), (B) and (C)	7,153	976	8,129	1,455,092	98,077	1,553,169

N.B.—“India” denotes British India, excluding Burma.

* *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 75.

“A STUDY OF MODERN INDUSTRIALIZATION
IN AHMEDABAD,”* by Paul F. Cressey

Ahmedabad is the most important city in Gujarat, and one of the most highly industrialized cities in all India. It has sixty-nine cotton mills and is the second largest milling center in India. It was the ancient capital of a local Mogul kingdom. The Gujarat region is one of the most productive agricultural sections of India, and there is a great deal of native wealth concentrated in the city.

Modern industry has been established in the city for forty or fifty years. Its growth has been steady and constant. The milling industry has been

* Summarized by the Editor.

continuously prosperous here, with a constant flow of population into the city. There has been no planning of the city's growth; the inevitable result is that the congestion, lack of sanitation and inadequate housing which are typical of India's industrial cities are here present to an extreme degree.

Most of the factories are outside the older portion of the city, forming a wall of modern factories outside the ancient embattlements. Very little of the population has expanded into the more or less open country beyond the factories. There has been a slight expansion of the wealthier Indian population across to the west bank of the river, where several coöperative housing schemes for middle-class people are being carried on. About forty English mill specialists work as foremen in the various cotton mills, but these men with their families live in bungalows in the different mill-compounds rather than in any special European section of the city.

The present population is estimated as being something over 300,000. In 1872 the population was 128,000. In 1902 it was estimated at 180,000, and in 1921 it was 274,000. In fifty years the population increased 113 per cent. While this is not a phenomenal growth in comparison with many industrial cities in the West, it is nevertheless one of the highest rates of any city in India.

The population has been largely drawn from the surrounding Gujarat territory, and tends to be homogeneous, linguistically and culturally, and is rather stable, since there is relatively little movement back and forth between the city and the rural areas on the part of industrial workers; that is, no great seasonal fluctuations in the labor force. The village people that have come to work in the factories include wives and children; they have settled down to permanent family life in the city and have become permanent city dwellers and industrial workers. In 1921, 60 per cent. of the city's population was born in Ahmedabad. At the same time there were on the average 763 women for every 1,000 men in the city. This ratio is not so abnormal as exists in many other Indian industrial cities.

The cotton mills tend to be more or less uniform in size, employing on the average about 1,000 people per mill. There are only one or two mills that employ as many as 3,000 workers. The actual number of mill employees is estimated to be between 60,000 and 65,000. When their dependents are added to this number it is estimated that considerably more than half of the city's population is directly dependent upon this industry.

In 1930 Ahmedabad had 22 per cent. of all the spindles in India; as against 17 per cent. in 1913-14, or an increase of 51 per cent. Bombay in 1930 had 41 per cent. of all the spindles in India. The number of looms in Bombay during the period 1913-14 to 1928-29 increased 15 per cent., while Ahmedabad looms increased 89 per cent. Ahmedabad, holding second place in the cotton-milling industry of India, is increasing much more rapidly than Bombay, which holds first place. While Bombay has been suffering from strikes and labor difficulties, poor management and

general inefficiency, the industry in Ahmedabad has been going ahead steadily. In 1926-27 the profits of the Ahmedabad mills amounted to 117 lakhs of rupees, while in Bombay they were but 26 lakhs. The profits of the Ahmedabad mills have in considerable measure been put back into the mills in improved machinery, etc., rather than disbursed in large dividends—as has been the practice in Bombay.

Wages in Ahmedabad are a little lower than in Bombay, but are a bit higher than in other cotton-milling cities. Findlay Shirras has figured the average Bombay wage as Rs.36-4-7 per worker per mensem, while in Ahmedabad it is Rs.33-10-11, and in other centers it averages Rs.27-13. These figures are for 1926-27.

All of the mills save one, in Ahmedabad, are Indian mills, usually operated by their owners, though some of the larger ones are operated by managing agents. And in these cases the managing agent is usually the principal stockholder. Thus the capital and management are primarily Indian.

One or two of the mills import Egyptian cotton for fine spinning and the weaving of sarees and other fine cloths, such as Ambalal Sarabhai's Calico Mills, which are equipped with the latest modern machinery of English design and manufacture. There is a little hand-weaving in Ahmedabad, and there are several small factories with ten or a dozen hand-looms, but Ahmedabad is not an important center for the hand-weaving industry, as is the case, for example, in Sholapur where both modern factories and hand-weaving exist.

MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The outstanding social problem in Ahmedabad seems to be that of adequate housing for the industrial population. In 1930 a very thorough survey of the housing situation was made by the Ahmedabad Labour Union and incorporated in a document submitted to the Ahmedabad Municipality, entitled "A Plea for Municipal Housing for the Working Classes in the City of Ahmedabad." Thousands of working people are crowded into lines of hovels surrounded by the most unsanitary conditions. In some lines the floors are actually two feet below the surface of the surrounding land. The unsanitary conditions and the lack of adequate water supply create conditions which are difficult to describe. The Labour Union survey indicates that of 23,706 tenements surveyed, 37.4 per cent. were unfit for human habitation, for one cause or another. A net shortage of 26,179 tenements for the city as a whole was indicated by this study. In 1921 the density of the population was nearly 25,000 per square mile. At this time 52 per cent. of the people in the city were living in one-room tenements, 21 per cent. in two-room tenements and 27 per cent. in tenements of three or more rooms. In five wards 90 per cent. or more of the people were living in one-room tenements.

The effect of these conditions is reflected in extremely high mortality rates. Ahmedabad has the highest general mortality rate of any industrial city in the Bombay Presidency, the latest figures being 44.32 per 1,000 as against Bombay 21, Karachi 29.50, and Sholapur 36.70. Ahmedabad stands highest in all India in mortality from respiratory diseases. In 1926

Ahmedabad had an infant mortality rate of 438 per 1,000 live births. In 1928 the rate was 331.

There are, of course, the other ever-present problems in India of ignorance and poverty. The drink problem is also of considerable importance in relation to the industrial population.

WELFARE WORK TO MEET SOCIAL PROBLEMS

A. By the Government:

The municipal board has attempted to introduce universal education in the first four standards. But, while this provision has been on the books for about six years, only a little actual progress has been made towards its realization, not enough money being available. This lack of funds is given as the reason for inadequate water-supply and lamentable sewerage provisions.

The housing problem has begun to receive the attention of the municipality, as a result of the pressure of the Labour Union. The municipality has undertaken the construction of five hundred buildings, at an average cost of Rs.900, and has granted 4½ lakhs of rupees for this purpose. This is the initial venture of a 3,000 house project. It has been proposed also to grant loans to private individuals for the construction of private homes. How this housing scheme will develop cannot yet be predicted.

B. By Private Agencies:

The mills themselves have done very little welfare work for their employees. A few of them have built acceptable *chawls* for their workers, usually on one-story lines. But there are no outstanding examples of industrial welfare work. Two or three of the mills have hospitals, a fine new one having just been built at Ambalal Sarabhai's Calico Mills at a cost of Rs.25,000. Maternity benefits are provided in accordance with the law of the Bombay Presidency. Two of the mills have small nursery schools.

The outstanding agency for social work in Ahmedabad is the Labour Union. It has twenty-five schools, travelling libraries, its own hospital, printing-press and weekly paper. This is the outstanding Labour Union in India, and its social work is one of its chief features. It has forced all the mills where it has any union workers to install *crèches*. It handles complaints of mill-workers and is officially recognized by the mill-owners' association. It was this Labour Union which made a scientific survey of the housing situation and forced municipal action on the matter. One or two of its officials has been elected to the Municipal Council. It has been carrying on a vigorous temperance campaign, picketing liquor shops, etc., and has spent Rs.50,000 on this work during the last year. This is, of course, a part of the Congress non-coöperative movement of Mr. Gandhi, but the Union is so concerned about temperance that its officials claim that they will continue their temperance work, regardless of the Congress policy. This Union is largely under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, who organized it in 1920. It has completely associated itself with

the present Congress movement. The President of the Union is Mrs. Anusuya Sarabhai, the sister of the leading mill-owner in Ahmedabad.

C. By Christian Agencies:

The Census of 1921 gives the Christian population of Ahmedabad as 2,405. This is the smallest number of Christians in any city in India having more than 200,000 population.

Three missions operate in Ahmedabad: the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Irish Presbyterian Mission and the Salvation Army.

The Irish Presbyterian Mission is the oldest and has a good-sized church and several schools, including a theological seminary. No direct welfare work is being done by this group. However, one of its missionaries is an appointed member of the Municipal Council and is on very friendly personal relations with the leaders of the Labour Union. He is in sympathetic touch with many of the social problems of the city.

The Salvation Army has only a relatively small amount of work in the city.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance started work in Ahmedabad in 1900, but at the present time it has no missionary in the city. The Alliance has a self-supporting church of 430 members under the care of an Indian pastor. No social work is attempted.

The Methodist Mission has been carrying on work in the city since about 1885. At one time it had a missionary stationed there, but he was withdrawn twenty-five years ago. At the present time the mission has a church of 461 members under an Indian pastor. It operates four primary schools among the railway and mill population. This school and church work is practically self-supporting, and yet, no welfare work has been undertaken.

CHAPTER III

CHURCH WORK IN INDIA AND BURMA

INTRODUCTION

A ROMANCE OF SPIRITUAL ADVENTURE

THE beginning of Protestant Christian missions in India and Burma is a romance of spiritual adventure. The names of Carey, Judson and Duff shine like stars in the dark. These heroic men were not afraid to attempt great things for God, nor ashamed to expect great things from God. The inspiration of their devotion and heroism is still potent. Yet they had the defects, both of their own qualities and of their times. No one should wonder if, as almost always happens, the movement, crystallizing into institutions, has made too much of secondary matters of thought and practice, has grown rigid in attitude and has lost to some degree the spirit of the pioneers. Certainly it is open to serious question whether the Christian missionary forces and national Christian churches in India today are equal to the call of this new time.

COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEMS

Several factors complicate the problem of Christian progress in India as compared with the situation in other countries.* (1) The intense religious feeling in India: here religion is always an absorbing issue. The religion of Hindus is woven into every household and social custom: it is an everyday, everywhere experience. The Mohammedan prays anywhere and often. (2) The presence of not one but two great religions—Islam and Hinduism—which differ from each other and from Christianity in their orthodox expression: Hinduism is tolerant and absorbant; Islam claiming one-sixth of the population is a great monotheistic brotherhood, but also uncompromising and aggressive. (3) The presence of foreign rule: Christianity is comparatively small as to numbers and is not a political factor. This affects the missionary's work and relationships. It is hard for him to keep the narrow path between that excess of sympathy with National aspirations which renders him unacceptable to the Government and

* Note: The great majority of the population of Burma is Buddhist.

that excess of loyal coöperation with Government which makes him unacceptable to the people. (4) The caste system of India, which, however, does not exist in Burma, also adds to the complexities of the problem. Many regard converts to Christianity as belonging to a sub-caste just above the outcaste.

Under such conditions a constructive critic will not be content with bestowing blame; he will appreciate any advance made; and certainly advance has been made.

RELIGION—CHURCH

Christian missions have brought new hope to multitudes of untouchables, and have lifted from the depths of degradation those who have come to rank with the best in mental ability, character, achievement and significant service. Churches have made this possible.

Great achievements have been recorded in education, especially the education of women. Leaders like Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, herself a Hindu, give unqualified praise to Christianity for pioneering in this difficult and desperately needy field. Leadership has also been shown in the field of medicine. These two subjects are dealt with in separate reports, yet no report on the church and evangelistic missions would be complete without reference to these achievements. In fact, medical and educational work both were started avowedly as evangelistic agencies, or at least as affording evangelistic opportunities. The insistence on religious instruction and the predominance of Christian teachers in schools, and the use of hospitals with the presence of patients as opportunities for preaching Christ, are not new measures recently introduced. They were present at the beginning even more prominently. It is not strange that some missionaries of the traditional type must be convinced by solid argument that the use of such opportunities in education and medicine deserves the name "proselytizing"; these and others claim the right to protest against efforts to stigmatize the tactful but aggressive influence of Christian teachers and doctors as "proselytizing."

It should be said that many intelligent Indian leaders mean by "proselytizing," not a frank discussion of Christian ideals and beliefs, not even open approaches to individuals or groups in the hope of winning them to Christ and the Church. The word "proselytize," as they define it, is rather the use of what *professes* to be disinterested human service, chiefly *as a means to persuade* people to change their religious faith.

The whole question of the relation of medical and educational work to evangelization has been carefully considered by this Com-

mission and the conclusions reached may be found in the sections of the Report dealing with these subjects.*

DIVISION OF CHURCH FORCES AND STEPS TOWARD UNITY

Division of church forces is a serious condition in India, as elsewhere; more serious than in some other countries, as there is less definite agreement in allocation of territory and consequently more possibility of clashes and conflict. There is here, as in China and Japan, a National Christian Council. However, it is still in the stage when it must move with caution lest it alienate some supporting body. One of the indubitable needs of the Christian movement in India is a strengthening of this central coöperating body into a more effective organ and instrument of Indian Christianity in every field in which coöperation is possible and desirable.

On the other hand, projects of organic union have been pushed farther in India, at least in theory, than anywhere else in the world. There are in existence now union bodies which have real value, though they are hardly as strong as similar bodies in China and far less strong than those in Japan. These include chiefly the American Congregational, Presbyterian and Reformed forces, together with the churches founded by English Nonconformists. In operation these "United Churches" might more truly be called federations, but there is some evidence that they are making progress toward a real unity of indigenous forces.

The South India United Church was formed about twenty-five years ago as an organic union of churches located in South India and Ceylon, including the Reformed and Congregational Churches of America, the Presbyterian Church of Australia, and the Church of Scotland. It is a somewhat loose federation. In 1919 a movement toward further unity started in Tranquebar, where thirty-three men, all but two of whom were Indian Christians, devised a plan for combining in an organic union, churches of three types: Episcopal, Congregational and Presbyterian. The proposal was received favorably by the authorities of these three groups. Later the Wesleyan Methodists joined in these negotiations. A Joint Committee appointed by them presented by unanimous vote a "proposed scheme of union" which was acted upon favorably by the bodies involved. The plan was favorably received at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 and no insuperable obstacles to its consummation have appeared. It is still a paper scheme, but there is some hope of its realization. Its great merit lies in the fact that it provides for an organic union

* *Re-Thinking Missions*, pp. 164, 165, 200, 201, 214.

reasonably satisfactory to Episcopalians, yet which does not demand impossible sacrifices of "principles" held by other Protestant bodies. Nowhere else in the world has a movement toward unity of these varieties of polity gone so far in its proposals.

I

THE CHURCHES AT WORK

In facing the future of Christianity in India, one must recognize that the Church there is a going concern. The following official census statistics as published in the *Gazette of India* as of September 19th, 1931, show the relative strength of the religious constituencies and their relative gains:*

	1921	1931	Per Cent. of increase
<i>Total Population</i>	318,942,480	352,986,876	10.6
<i>Division by Religions</i>			
Hindus	216,734,586	238,330,912	10.0
Muslims	68,735,233	77,743,926	13.1
Christians	4,486,958	5,961,794	32.6
Sikhs	3,236,803	4,306,442	33.0
Jains	1,178,596	1,205,235	2.0
Parsees	101,778	106,973	5.0
Jews	21,778	20,984	0.3

According to the Census figures of 1921 for India, not including Burma, 1,672,000 were Roman Catholics, while Syrian Christians numbered 791,000, leaving 2,033,000 for all other denominations combined.**

While we are far less concerned with the numerical strength of the Christian movement than we are with other factors, it is significant that the Christian constituency has been growing more rapidly than any other religious community in India except the Sikhs. Whatever may have been its failures or successes, it has spread over India in a remarkable way. Its membership may be small compared with the total population of India, but its geographical distribution and its permeating influence are striking.

The limits of this Regional Report do not permit a detailed description of the work of the several denominational church organizations which we studied. Such a description supported by statistical

* Note: Does not include either the Buddhists or the Christians of Burma.

** Fact-Finders' Reports, *in loco*. Statistics by denominational groups based on Census of 1931 were not available when this Regional Report was written.

data has been very carefully made by Dr. Orville A. Petty for India,* and by Dr. Daniel J. Fleming for Burma.* It is not possible to reproduce here the data set forth in these illuminating reports. This appraisal rests upon the facts brought to light by those and other members of the research group as supplemented by the observations and interviews of this Commission made on the field.

It should be said, that while there are great differences between the people and the living conditions in Burma and those in India, and notable differences in the achievements of the churches, nevertheless these differences do not alter the impressions and conclusions which are herein set forth for India and Burma as a whole.

It should be said also, that all of the churches studied have carried over to India the particular points of view in theology, worship and service, that are to be found in the parent church bodies in the West. All will probably agree that these differences are so striking as to keep the Christian movement from making its maximum impact upon the life and thought of India.

COMMON APPROACH WITH DIFFERENT EMPHASES

It is also true that these denominations in general follow similar lines in their approach to the non-Christian world. Practically all divide their work, with varying accent, into three general divisions: Evangelization, Education and Medical Work,—with Agricultural and Industrial Work included under Education. With the range of service ever widening it is probable that in the future Agricultural, Industrial and Social Welfare work will be regarded as distinct divisions.

In general under Evangelization come all the direct efforts to secure conversions and to build up the fellowship of Christian disciples,—the church. Under Education is classified all school work from the primary grades through the college and graduate work, except for education in medicine. Actually, however, there is an overlapping of responsibility for education, because village primary schools are often included in the budget for evangelism, while middle and secondary schools are occasionally so included.

A study of the churches reveals certain differences in emphasis. The Congregationalists have long given great attention to education, and are now showing a growing interest in social welfare work. They give less attention to evangelism than do some others. On the other hand the United Presbyterians and the Baptists, while conducting many schools, have nevertheless thrown the weight of their interest

* Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, *in loco*.

into evangelism. The Reformed Church of Christ in America, working in a geographically smaller field than most of the other denominations whose work is included in this study, has an inclusive program which gives careful attention to evangelism, education—especially primary and secondary—agriculture, industrial and medical work—particularly the latter. It also has in Vellore a significant Social Center. The Presbyterian and Methodist bodies have been inclined to emphasize evangelism and secondary and higher education. However, the Presbyterians have to their credit some outstanding experiments of agricultural work at Allahabad and Sangli, while the Methodists are making experiments in industrial and agricultural mission work at Asansol and Kolar.

BUILDING THE ORGANIZED CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

Preaching Method.—Wherever the emphasis upon evangelism is strong, preaching has a central place in the life of the church. Open-air preaching services are still frequently conducted, but most of the preaching today is done in some house of worship or school building, or other places where the people more or less regularly assemble for service. There is a marked tendency to reduce the amount of sporadic preaching and to hold service regularly, once a week if possible, in designated places of worship. Members of this Commission attended many preaching services and learned that the quality of preaching leaves much to be desired. One Christian Indian teacher stated that the preaching was usually so poor that he has made it a rule never to listen to the sermon. Some of us saw him in church the following Sunday and he seemed to be observing his rule.

Another factor in the preaching is the difficulty of developing the reading habit in the Indian preacher. He has little good reading in his vernacular, and he does not know English well enough to read it for pleasure as well as for profit. Besides, books are expensive. The result is that the pastor or "supply preacher" or "catechist," whatever he may be called, who "completed" his training course ten, twenty or forty years ago, is still using the same vocabulary and ideas which he received in his training, without keeping up to date in his thinking or improving his ability to prepare and deliver sermons. How to assist the national, and the missionary also, to grow in mind as well as in spiritual grace is a problem of very great importance in a land where the well-educated thinking classes (although comparatively small) are as capable as they are in India. To this end a circulating library for missionaries and Indian church leaders would have

great value.* The National Christian Council might well foster such an undertaking.

INDIANIZATION OF MUSIC AND WORSHIP

Indianization of music and worship has been dealt with in the Report.** It is enough here to say that the Indian churches are making increasing use of their own art, symbolism, and customs in their worship, though heavily handicapped by buildings and traditions of the Western mode imposed upon them in the past, and from the influence of which it is hard for them to escape.

THE CHURCH AND ITS YOUNG PEOPLE

No more important problem confronts any church than that of developing its young people. In every part of the world it is difficult to find preachers who can interpret Christian truth in a thrilling way to the younger generation. The Christian religion as an adventure, a voyage of discovery, a heroic way of living, appeals to youth, but if presented largely as a way in which to conform to "the traditions of the elders" it is either dull or irritating to them. We frequently saw congregations made up very largely of young people, usually from near by schools. But unfortunately we saw or heard little to convince us that the preacher was gripping his young hearers in a vital way. We also noted too little provision for the young people in the life of the church. The responsibility of youth to the church seems to be limited to that of being listeners, perhaps that of musicians, but there the responsibility and activity end. To be sure, their program was almost entirely controlled by some school or college, and their institutions tried to meet physical and social, as well as intellectual needs. Perhaps the churches of the West have undertaken too many activities of a certain kind in certain ways. We cannot help noticing, however, that the young people of the churches in the East are growing up with too little responsibility to enable them to become leaders in the church of tomorrow.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Religious Education in the modern sense of the word is in the embryonic stages of development in most of India. No thoughtful observer can successfully deny that the Christian recruit, whether young or old, has been religiously undernourished. The schools have taught religion in a formal way, but their whole curriculum of religious training, except in rare cases, needs re-making and revitaliz-

* See *Re-Thinking Missions*, Chaps. VIII and XIII, *in loco*.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

ing. In a very few churches the Charterhouse or some other program of graded studies has been used in the Sunday schools, but in the usual church the International Uniform Lessons have been taught to old and young, with little adaptation to meet the needs of a particular age group. Dr. E. L. King, the Harpers of Moga, Miss Alice Van Doren and others are doing significant experimental work. Dr. and Mrs. Annett of the India Sunday School Association were early leaders promoting better methods of religious education. In the future these, with other workers, should produce a literature and a technique which will give growing Christians a chance actually to secure adequate religious knowledge and develop Christ-like character. We urge support for such worth-while experiments, and record it as our judgment that the organized fellowship of Christians will never become strong until religious nurture becomes a major and not a minor interest of the churches. In several areas the number of Sunday "schools" reported equals or exceeds the number of teachers! These cannot be *schools*!*

THE CHURCH AND LAYMEN

Another great weakness in the church of today in India is the failure to develop a large and fairly well-trained body of Christian laymen who are not dependent in any way upon the missionary enterprise for financial support. The training of laymen in the United States has not kept pace with the needs of the changing world. However, the churches in America have long had many capable lay leaders, and one who knows the inside working of successful local churches is assured that these laymen have often had more to do with the carrying out of successful programs than the pastors. Where a church has been at its best these laymen have coöperated with their pastors and under such combined leadership the work has advanced. It is not too much to say that today in America the training of laymen for volunteer service is receiving especial attention, and there is greater need of such participation in India.

In India such a program is imperative, and none has suggested this need more vigorously than some of the leading missionaries. It is difficult to find many churches which are rated as strong, in which there are laymen who are not in one way or another in the employ of some missionary institution. We found some fields in which missionaries had kept men out of secular employment, apparently for fear lest they be lost to the Christian movement unless they became permanent employees of the mission. Fortunately the latter

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Orville A. Petty, *in loco*.

position was never taken generally, and it has been largely abandoned. The development of an "indigenous, self-supporting, self-propagating church" will never come to pass without the development of a strong body of men and women who are supporting the church, but who are *not* financially employed by it.

In the Regional Reports on Agriculture and on Industry the economic conditions of the country are discussed.* One also cannot get a true picture of the church in India and of the problem of developing a strong body of able laymen unless he realizes the extreme poverty of the vast majority of the Christians. Most of the church members come from the depressed classes, and are not only very poor economically, but also in intellectual achievement. The exceptionally bright boys and girls may be helped by the missionary institutions until they achieve real power and leadership, but the vast majority have neither the opportunity nor the attitude to receive such help.

Significant beginnings have been made in the Ingraham Bible School of Ghaziabad and elsewhere to train laymen for some degree of non-professional, yet responsible, leadership of the Christians in their communities, but favorable results along this line will come slowly. While we heartily commend such efforts, we also look forward to the time when the Christian message will win not only the sympathy, but also the personal and financial support, of the strongest elements in the Indian village, town or city. Dr. Petty states, "The economic status, the intellectual interests and religious attainments of the present (depressed-class) constituency scarcely warrant the hope of satisfactory church development unless and until work among castes is seriously attempted and success partially achieved."***

SELF-SUPPORT

Self-support in the churches of India has progressed more slowly than in China and Japan. Three factors go far to account for this difference: (1) the economic status of its depressed-class constituency and (2) the nominal religious attainments of the Christian community, especially in mass-movement areas, and (3) their low literacy. Most of the so-called "self-support" is not real, or assuredly permanent. Many churches are in reality supported by grants-in-aid to the primary teacher who is also the catechist. In other long established churches with all their affiliated villages missionaries and nationals in mission employ provide even today the greater percentage of the operating budgets.***

* See also *Re-Thinking Missions*, Chaps. X, XI, and Fact-Finders' Reports, *in loco*.

** Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Orville A. Petty, *in loco*.

*** *Ibid*.

In Burma the situation is quite different. Here economic conditions are better and no caste barriers handicap the work of the church. Dr. Fleming states, "Of the 1,257 Baptist churches in Burma, 80 per cent. are self-supporting; and of the eighteen Methodist churches in Burma, 50 per cent. are self-supporting. The Karens provide one of the most notable instances of the development of Christian work, with a minimum of mission grants, found anywhere in the world. Of their 977 organized Baptist churches, 98 per cent. are recorded as self-supporting."*

CITY AND RURAL CHURCHES

The opportunities and problems confronting the city and rural churches are discussed in the Report.** We saw a few churches which seemed to be conscious of their responsibility to the whole life rather than to a single phase of life. But most of the churches—city, town and rural—appeared to lack any such conception. In this they were much like many of those in the West. We believe, however, that the church which can inspire men and women with new ideals and stimulate every form of economic, social and religious betterment is the kind of church particularly needed in India.

SOCIAL SERVICE

We have been reminded frequently that our missionary enterprises lack the social emphasis. This is evident to any observer. It has been noticed, also, that organizations like the Servants of India Society and its auxiliaries are working much more effectively in this field. Perhaps it is not so unfortunate that our Christian enterprise in India has not committed itself prematurely and exclusively to social work of the rescue type. Hinduism is a social order even though artificially stratified; Christianity, by its essential nature and by the essentially social character of its problem as constituted by Hinduism, must adopt and pursue a policy of integrating the economic, social and religious aspects in Indian life according to Christian ideals of intelligence and justice. This cannot be accomplished by simply alleviating the lot of the outcastes!

For social work as often suggested by the phrase "Rural Reconstruction" the reader is referred to the Regional Report on Agriculture in India.***

* Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, D. J. Fleming, *in loco*.

** *Re-Thinking Missions*, Chap. V.

*** See this Volume, *in loco*.

DEVOLUTION AND THE RELATION BETWEEN MISSION AND CHURCH

Devolution is a serious problem in India. On the one hand, the intensity of nationalistic aspirations makes Indian church leaders more insistent on a rapid turning over of complete control. On the other hand, the preponderance of depressed-class people in the Christian churches and the long-continued policy of dependence of local church leaders on the mission and its financial resources, make such devolution of authority and control difficult. It may be said in general that the missionaries feel that Indianization is being carried out as rapidly as possible, while the nationals feel that it is not. There are, of course, outstanding exceptions on both sides. The judgment of the Commission upon this matter is given in its Report.*

While devolution is going on one faces the difficult question of the proper relation of the mission to the church. The very existence of such an organization as a "mission," distinct from the church of a country, save as a temporary expedient, is abnormal; yet the larger part of the missionary enterprise in India is still carried on by mission and church in what is meant to be coöperation, but which too often becomes conflict. Many of the strongest leaders frankly deplore the dependence of the Indian Church and its members as individuals upon the missions, and the tendency to keep converts on the payroll. On the other hand, the policy of merging mission and church has not been wholly satisfactory and requires further experimentation before it can be recommended to all of the denominations. On the whole these churches which make no distinction in their organization between the foreign worker and the national have had less friction over this matter than the others. But the whole problem is one that can be solved in the right way only by the exercise of far-sighted statesmanship, both on the field and at the home base, surpassing any in exercise at the present time, and perhaps, only possible under a more unified policy of administration.

TRAINING OF LEADERS

The important matter of the training of church leaders is confused and unsatisfactory. There is too little coöperation. There are too many schools, few of them really efficient and adequate, while the training is too largely a reproduction of processes in use a generation ago in the theological institutions of the West. Training is manifestly too little adapted to the special needs of the Indian field.

* *Re-Thinking Missions*, Chap. XIV, "Devolution."

Schools of Theology.—Each one of the denominations represented in this study has one or more schools of theology. It is not surprising that these teach a denominational approach to the theological as well as to the practical problems of the ministry. The missionary teachers themselves are often more conservative than the men and women in similar positions in the West, and the Indian ministers trained by them are often still more conservative. Church union will not come soon in India unless the Indians and missionaries together attain a breadth of view which emphasizes essentials rather than non-essentials, and recognizes the values in other denominational points of view than their own.

At the time of our study there were in addition to Serampore just three institutions in India which offered a course leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree, which degree Serampore alone has authority to confer. Students in theological schools affiliated with Serampore and who complete the requirements prescribed by the Serampore Senate are granted the B.D. degree. Serampore, itself a union institution, is the oldest. Bishop's College of Calcutta is Anglican. The United Theological College of South India and Ceylon, located in Bangalore, is, as its name implies, a union school and has excellent possibilities, while Leonard Theological College of Jubbulpore is a Methodist institution serving several denominations.

Of these, the one in Jubbulpore is conspicuous in its opportunity as a pioneer for revolutionizing theological curricula. This institution should be encouraged to blaze new trails, and if it is courageous in re-shaping its curriculum may render very significant service to churches of several denominations in India and Burma.

In the northern part of India we find two institutions preparing pastors and lay leaders for the village. Both have some able men on their faculties. The North India United Theological College, Saharanpur, originally conducted under American Presbyterian auspices, is a union school. When visited, it had in addition to Presbyterian teachers an Anglican and an English Baptist on its faculty,—these supported by their own denominations. Bareilly Theological Seminary, the oldest seminary of the Methodists, also has recently strengthened its faculty and reorganized its curriculum. There has been a hope that these two institutions might unite. Both are in the United Provinces, approximately one hundred and seventy-five miles apart. If such a union should come, the united faculty-strength would make possible a very effective school for vernacular training. If they do not unite, it is probable that both will render important service by raising somewhat the standards for the training of village

workers. The reasons given for remaining apart seem inadequate. Ingraham Bible School of Ghaziabad is significant because it makes a special feature of training laymen and village leaders for volunteer religious service. The wives of these men also come with their husbands for training. This is true in practically all of the theological schools visited.

In western India the United Church of North India and the Methodists have united in a Union Theological College at Poona. The union has only recently been consummated, but the institution is facing a real opportunity.

In South India the Baptists, the Reformed Church of Christ in America, and the Congregationalists have their own seminaries. The entrance and graduation requirements of the first (Ramapatnam) have been unbelievably low. The latter two send their candidates for the B.D. degree to Bangalore, while they offer the Licentiate in Theology course in English, and a lower-grade vernacular course at the respective seminaries in Vellore and Pasumalai. Pasumalai hopes to realize its dream of becoming a union institution as plans for the uniting of the churches in South India mature. At present, however, the work is conducted solely by the American Board.

In Burma there is but one Theological Training Center, that at Insein. The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society supports the three departments of the Theological School—the Karen, the Burmese, and the English Seminaries. These are on the same campus, near Rangoon. The financial contribution of the Foreign Mission Society is comparatively small. The personnel of the faculties overlaps in part.

It is held by many who are cognizant of the work of this Theological Training Center that there should be a merging of the three organizations. The reasons for the separate existence of Karen and Burmese schools are largely racial. Whether the obstacles to complete merger can be overcome is doubtful. The tension between Karens and Burmese does not seem to be lessening. The English school makes possible the awarding of a theological degree to its graduates through an affiliating arrangement with the Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago.

The whole situation seems to this Commission as unsatisfactory in regard to the maintenance of these divisions, but perhaps it is inevitable for the immediate future. Political changes are apparently imminent in Burma and these may affect the policies at Insein in a very real way.

A widely known feature of the life and work of the Karen Seminary is the Gospel Team movement which has expressed itself in as many as seventeen gospel teams engaging in evangelistic work in fifty-three villages during a single vacation period. Such a team, constituted of seminary students and others, has journeyed through India, and has there conducted meetings in many student centers. It is too early to say any final word on the permanent value of the Gospel Team movement regarded as a feature of theological training. The interruption to the course of study is manifest. Whether it is warranted is a debatable question. That it is carried on with devotion and sincerity is unquestioned.

The Commission on Christian Higher Education in India made a brief report on the theological situation in India. One of its most important recommendations was that the theological schools should be more closely related to the other institutions of higher learning, especially for the purpose of research and extension, that a beginning should be made immediately in research and extension in the Madras Christian College, and that similar developments should take place at Allahabad, Lahore, Calcutta and Bombay as soon as possible.*

We are prepared to approve heartily the suggestion of closer affiliation with Christian colleges for the purpose of research and extension. We endorse strongly the general principle of union in seminary developments wherever practicable; but we also recommend that the present institutions which offer the Bachelor of Divinity degree go forward and pioneer in the field of ministerial training, having as their major concern the task of actually producing the type of ministerial leader needed for the new day in India.

We further recommend that such schools as those at Saharanpur, Bareilly, Poona and Pasumalai do pioneering work in the vernacular, training men and women especially for leadership in the villages. Furthermore, that these and other schools give attention to short-term courses for the training of volunteers for part-time work. Such a program is already under way in some places and we endorse the experiment heartily.

It is encouraging to find in most of these institutions some recognition of the importance of such subjects as Comparative Religion, Indian Art and Music, the background of Indian Culture, and problems of Rural Life. In at least three of the institutions approaches to other faiths are being made in good spirit through coöperative reading-rooms and discussion groups, through invitations to leading representatives of other faiths to give lectures, and through opening

* *The Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, p. 246.

courses of study to residents in Ashrams and to others who may or may not be Christians. These are valuable, not so much as achievements, as in what they promise for the future, unless held back by reactionary forces on the field, or in the boards and churches in America.

ACCESSIBILITY OF MISSIONARIES

A sensitive point is as to what we may call the Indianization of the missionary himself (or herself) in matters of housing, dress and other personal details.

It is apparent that many missionary houses and compounds are such as to set off their occupants from the life of the people among whom they are to do their work. It should be said that some of the missionaries deplore this fact and find the large houses more of a care than a comfort; some live in these too-pretentious quarters under protest.

Isolation of the mission compound also acts as a barrier. One highly intelligent group of non-Christians said of the missionaries in its community: "They live in a little bit of America. They don't play a part in the life of the community. They never come near us unless they want to convert us." Some Indians, Christian and non-Christian, stressed the importance of adaptation to Indian ways of life and dress, and the value of some conformity on the part of the missionary to the Indian ideal of a "holy man" through celibacy and a measure of asceticism, but a much larger number expressed their judgment that such a policy was not important or even desirable. Perhaps the most general attitude was that expressed in the oft-heard word "accessibility." Some of the most thoughtful protested against the assumption of Indian dress and ways, unless it came out of what one of them called "inward and spiritual compulsion." One found a surprisingly large number of thoughtful men and women who emphasized and appreciated the thought that India needs the Christian ideal of holiness, achieved in normal life, in contrast to its traditional ideal of holiness through withdrawal. Indeed, some brought out the fact that this ideal of a man who can "preserve in the midst of the crowd the independence of solitude" is found in the Indian religious sources. It is recalled that some one asked the Lord Krishna: "Is it well that a man should leave the world, break his ties, go into the desert and live as a hermit in order to become holy?" And the Lord Krishna answered: "If by breaking his ties, leaving his home and going into the desert and becoming an ascetic one can be holy, that is well, but

it would be better if he should stay in his home, live his life among men and still be holy."

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND ISLAM

It is altogether too easy to think of the work of Christian missions in India as having to do only with Hinduism. It is one of the peculiarly difficult, yet fascinating facts in the Christian task in India, that Christianity there comes into close contact with another great religious system—Islam, which has its own problems of approach and relationship. The very fact that Islam as a religious system is of a distinctly more exclusive type than Hinduism has made it more difficult for Christian forces to permeate it and win their way, especially when its rigid dogmatism and fiery fanaticism have been confronted with a Christianity hardly less dogmatic and authoritarian, if at all.

One of the most progressive missionaries the Commission interviewed declared that a Moslem had little to gain by conversion to a "fundamentalist Christianity," but much to gain through conversion to the free spiritual religion of Jesus and the Gospels.

In certain matters, such as its strict monotheism, its rejection of idolatry, its insistence upon the equality of all believers in the sight of God,—lie unusual possibilities of sympathetic understanding between Islam and Christianity.

There are signs that in India Islam is open to Christian advances of the right sort; not to onslaughts and attack, but to generous and friendly approach. The missionaries on the field and the church forces in America should take this fact seriously and meet it with courage and wisdom and a free spirit. At present those among the missionaries who are beginning to make such approaches are too often made to feel a lack of sympathy, or even a definite hostility toward their aims and work, by their companion missionaries.

THE "MASS MOVEMENT"

An outstanding and difficult problem is that caused by what is known as the "Mass Movement" and its diffusion or over-extension which has marked and marred so much of the missionary enterprise in India.

Mass Movement has usually been taken to mean the addition to the Christian fellowship of the whole outcaste group in a particular village or region. The group may be large or small. Most frequently the movement has been on the part of the depressed classes, such as the sweepers, the leather-workers, and the farm laborers, but recently

there has been a considerable movement on the part of the farmer caste, or Sudras, in some fields.

A study of the Mass Movement in selected fields has just been completed by the National Christian Council of India under the direction of Dr. J. W. Pickett, who presented some of his conclusions to this Commission in Lucknow; members of the Commission were able to observe some phases of this movement in different parts of India. The final Report of the Survey has not reached us.

It is easy to dismiss the whole Mass Movement as a mistake due to the readiness of the missionaries to follow the lines of least resistance and to their zeal for enrolling large numbers of converts, a zeal intensified at times by pressure from the home base for statistical results. We may admit that this cause has been present and powerful, but we must not overlook other features of the movement. "Mass movements" have been defended by reference to the facts (1) that Christianity, by origin and nature, has always ministered to the lowest and most unfortunate groups. The founder of Christianity took as a motto the great words of an earlier prophet, "He hath sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to them that are bound"; (2) that Christianity is essentially community-centered. As Professor Royce insisted, at the heart of the Christian faith is "the beloved community." Besides, India is communal-minded and lives and moves by groups. It should also be noted that outcaste brotherhoods were willing to accept baptism because of their "desire for social justice and its consequences." This should not surprise us or invite criticism.

So far as these instincts account for the response given to the Mass Movement, they partially justify it. Indeed it is a defensible assertion offered by some missionaries and many Indians that one of the major factors in the impression Christianity has made upon the best minds and hearts of India has been its service to the depressed classes, and the results of that service. The fact that, ordinarily, a man from the depressed classes could break his bonds and rise to a position to which his abilities entitled him, only by becoming either a Moslem or a Christian, coupled with the plain evidence of many such cases where depressed-class men have risen to eminence through the opportunity afforded them by Christianity, has made a powerful impression. This, however, would have been more wholesome if converts had been won more slowly and nurtured more surely. One line of evidence is the fact that the largest accessions from the Sudra (farmer caste) group in recent years have come in fields where work has been done among the depressed classes.

Unfortunately, however, zeal has outrun discretion; the work of the missionaries has been lamentably over-extended geographically; groups and individuals have been taken in wholesale without adequate preparation and, too often, left with little or no religious nurture. Baptism has been used with scandalous unrestraint, in a fashion without justification in either the theory or the practice of the Christian Church. In one province, scattered individuals from hundreds of villages each containing only one, two or three families of professed Christians belonging to the depressed classes have been received into church membership and placed under the nominal supervision of one worker, despite the fact that the individuals have been too remote from each other to share in common worship and fellowship or to receive adequate religious instruction. Serious results have followed from these errors. These can be corrected only by a rigid policy of concentration which seeks quality rather than quantity and does not measure success by statistical results. It is significant how many of the best leaders in missionary service, both in India and in China, have approved the suggestion of a "moratorium on statistics."

THE PERMEATING INFLUENCE

Far beyond the bounds of the Church, the organized body of believers, stretches the host of those whose hearts have been touched, whose thoughts have been molded, whose lives have been changed by what they have received from Christ through his representatives. No one can count the number, but no one can question that it is significantly large and extensive. Thousands, perhaps scores of thousands, of Hindus and Moslems, through attendance at Christian schools and colleges, through acquaintance with the Christian Scriptures and other literature, through friendly intercourse with open-minded missionaries, and through other means of contact, have become Christian at heart.

Somehow the Christian forces must (1) alter their point of view, (2) reconstruct their message, and (3) revise their methods of work, so as to make the most of this permeating influence, not primarily for the sake of the church, but for the sake of the Christ influence over India. We do not attempt to indicate ways and methods, but we are convinced that this unparalleled opportunity can be adequately met only by new courage, resourcefulness, and sacrifice, and by trust in the free spirit of the living God. There must be less insistence on inherited and traditional forms, thoughts and systems, and more generous readiness to walk and talk with men of varying

creeds and views, and to count spiritual experience and conduct of life the decisive test of Christian discipleship; going far in patient, courteous adjustment to ways and customs sacred and binding through long usage. One can look back and wonder what might not have come about had such a movement as the Brahmo Samaj met a more cordial and sympathetic response from the missionaries and the Christian churches at the time of its rise.

II

CONCLUSION

THE SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF DYNAMIC CHRISTIAN PERSONALITIES

The one outstanding need which takes precedence over all others is the right kind of personnel. The Christian movement waits for men and women who, without deviating from the path of loyalty to Christ—nay, *because* of that loyalty, will approach all sorts of people as Jesus did, and as his great follower Paul did, to meet them where they are and to go on with them from that starting-place into the riches found in Christ and His way of Life. Indications of the power that might work through such a missionary movement are found in C. F. Andrews, E. Stanley Jones and a few other leaders. The missionary of the coming day must be willing to study the possibilities of the ashram, the Indian love of melas, pageants, feasts, festivals and drama. He must be all things to all men,—the friend of every man, for the sake of the Kingdom of God.

India needs supremely,—other fields also,—men and women with the understanding that comes from proper training, wide knowledge and deep thought; alive to present issues and needs; quick to claim as consonant with Christianity whatever is true and honorable, and lovely and of good report; finding allies wherever possible and enemies only where human good is endangered; men and women able to face situations and to solve problems on the basis of fair judgment of facts; and when such men and women are found, the boards and churches in America should encourage them to make experiments and utilize their vision and freedom to the full.

THE MOTIVE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

No one need fear that with such men and methods the motive at the heart of Christian missions may grow dim or lose its power. This

incentive of faith, love and loyalty to God as revealed in Jesus Christ is the dominant motive of Christian missions.

This underlying motive cannot be better expressed in this connection than by certain remarkable words from an address by a Hindu, one of the large group who love and follow Christ although they do not join the Christian Church but still call themselves Hindus. Speaking on "The Uniqueness of Christ," Mr. Okandaswami Chetty of Madras, after pointing out the difficulties which keep many Hindus from becoming Christians in name, says: "But Christ is not so easily disposed of. We cannot turn away from him without feeling dissatisfied with ourselves. His uniqueness lies in the place he occupies in the history of mankind. In Jesus the heart of God is revealed. He reveals a righteous God who suffers on account of his righteousness. India is not backward in seeing the beauty of Christ's character and life and death. What she does not see is his place in the economy of the human race, as the revealer of God's heart toward all men. My own vision for my country is that she is coming into the commonwealth of free nations, with her treasures of moral wealth and spiritual wisdom, and that when she comes there she will see in Christ the face of God,—the All Great and the All Loving, too,—who has been giving her teachers like Buddha, Sankara and Ramana for preparing the way of the Lord."

COLLATERAL DATA

Excerpts from "The Church and the Mission in India," Fact-Finders' Reports, Orville A. Petty.

THE CHURCH

The organization of Christianity for worship, nurture and work is valuable and necessary. Stated in general terms, the realization of the Kingdom of God is the objective of the missionary enterprise, and although the church is not an end in itself it is an indispensable part of the process. Even if the Kingdom were completely realized the church would remain as an essential agency in the maintenance of this spiritual and social achievement.

THE ARCOT WORK (Reformed)

One type of diffusion obtaining in Arcot is that of procedure, where efforts at extension surpass the intensive work of nurture. The geographical separation of institutions also bears on the problem of integrated impact.

The partial occupancy of the field appears in the fact that almost exclusively it is the outcaste quarter of a village unit called a "village" which contains Christians, and also in the fact that only a small proportion of these villages in any given area has been reached; for example, within a twenty-mile radius of the Vellore church, with its thirteen affiliated villages, there are 200 villages untouched; within the same radius of the Katpadi church, with its thirty-eight affiliated villages, lie 125 untouched villages; within the Gudiyattam church area, with twenty-five villages affiliated, there are 300 villages outside of effective evangelistic effort.

An incipient trend may be observed in recommendations made by Board Deputation to the Assembly (1930) accenting efforts at intensive nurture—physical, mental, social and spiritual—in already occupied villages and the present Christian constituency; this inference is supported by the fact that the deputation report was preceded by growing interest in qualitative product.

The constitution of Arcot Assembly (Article II, Purpose) reads in part, "It looks toward the ultimate transfer of its functions and powers to the organized Church in India," but there is no specific reference to "self-support" as such. In the Rules of the Madras Church Council (1925), "The Scheme of Devolution," is the repeated statement "to promote self-support." All of the sixteen organized churches, including affiliated villages, are reported as self-supporting; but it should be noted that the contributions of missionaries and mission employees constitute a very considerable portion of the receipts of congregations, especially where

there are educational institutions. Of the amount raised in 1929-30 by the organized churches, 81 per cent. was contributed by mission employees and Europeans; in the case of the Vellore Church (the oldest) this percentage is 94.¹

The following facts are pertinent: In 1869 there were fifteen organized churches. In seventy-five years sixteen organized churches have been established which still exist. Between 1853 and 1873 three-fourths of these churches were organized; between 1873 and 1893 one church (in 1875); between 1893 and 1913 two churches; between 1913 and 1930 one church (in 1914). There are now two organized churches fewer than in 1904. In 1929 seven villages are reported as added to the sixteen pastorates.²

The following table presents significant data:³

<i>Year</i>	<i>Communicants</i>	<i>Christian Community</i>	<i>Money Raised</i>	<i>Ministers (Indian)</i>
1858	146	552		
1868	531	2,094		
1878	1,112	6,083	Rs. 660	2
1888	1,712	5,380	1,853	3
1898	2,300	9,000	4,170	12
1908	2,808	9,828	10,304	16
1918	3,806	18,635	13,910	19
1928	6,020	22,083	24,544	22
1929-30	6,940	24,770	23,378	20

THE MADURA WORK (Congregational)

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

The Madura Church Council has no committee on Religious Education. Most of the Sunday-school work is of the conventional kind. Only a comparatively few schools are roughly graded or use graded materials. The average village Sunday school is not a school but a brief village gathering of all ages for a song and story service conducted by one leader. In the Pasumalai Church (theological seminary and training school center) religious education is gaining recognition and some modern methods are being partially tried. In the total area 271 Sunday schools are reported, with an enrollment of 11,262 pupils and 567 teachers—an average of little more than two teachers per Sunday school and nearly twenty pupils per teacher. There are 388 villages in which there are Christians but no Sunday schools. There are nearly one hundred congregations with regular services where there are no Sunday schools.

EVANGELISM

The Madura Church Council spent on evangelistic itinerancy, in 1929, only Rs.829. A special evangelistic fund (Bates) provides for evangelists

¹ Minutes Madras Church Council, 1930, Table, p. 31.

² Minutes Arcot Assembly 1929, Table III, p. 64.

³ Part III, *Historical Papers*, Jubilee Commemoration, pp. 127ff.

who must do new extensive work only. Catechists do some extensive and intensive evangelism, their primary task, however, is being village teachers who receive Government grants. Numerous villages request evangelists and baptism which cannot be granted. Many pastors cannot accept converts or open new villages because they "have no means of shepherding them." A week of evangelism is observed. Students and village Christians "go on tour." But some pastorates are already too large for efficient nurturing. More converts only increase the liability unless more and better-trained workers are provided. Money spent on catechist-teachers for village schools is not always patently profitable; for example, in the village of Kuthiargunda near Pasumalai, no religious teaching was being done and although the work was forty years old there were no literate adults or Christians in the village. In the village of Siliaman, near Tirupuvanam, there is a school of thirty-five pupils, two teachers and a Bible woman, and although the work has gone on here for thirty years, with the same teacher for the last twenty years, there are no literate adults and no Christians. These are not typical, neither are they isolated exceptions.

THE MARATHI WORK (Congregational)

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

The policy as to self-support is reflected in the following facts: Indian congregations are unable to maintain work in expensive church buildings erected in the past by foreign funds—"Fine buildings are going to waste in Kalgaon, Parner, Jour, Vadala and Rahuri districts." In 1924 there were twenty-three churches entirely self-supporting; in 1930 only eleven, or a decrease of 52 per cent. in six years. The total receipts from congregations in 1924 amounted to Rs.16,345; in 1930, Rs.14,248.

All of the eight stations operating today were operating in 1880. Of sixty-eight churches, two were organized 1827-1850; seventeen, 1851-1875; twenty-two, 1875-1900; twenty-seven, 1901-1930—this last increase in number being largely accounted for by regrettable repeated divisions in the Ahmednagar Church.

The number of regular meeting places in 1924 was 173; in 1930 it was 146. In 1924 the total constituency was 16,725; in 1930 it was 10,597. In 1924 communicants numbered 9,253; in 1930 there were 6,695.⁴ The following tabulation indicates a trend.

	<i>Organized Churches</i>	<i>Self-Supporting Churches</i>	<i>Christian Community</i>	<i>Communicants</i>	<i>Regular Meeting Places</i>	<i>Receipts from Congregations</i>
1924	66	23	16,725	9,253	173	Rs.16,345
1930	68	11	10,597	6,695	146	14,248

⁴ Statistical Reports for 1924 and for 1930.

THE TELUGU WORK

(Baptist)

EVANGELISM

The extension of organized Christianity is the major interest in this field; all educational efforts focus on this point; religious contact motivates medical service and dominates ecclesiastical programs and methods. This field has experienced a series of mass movements, beginning in 1866. There was a great ingathering in 1878—1,000 baptisms in one year. Missionaries say that the earlier mass movements were followed by many years of "disastrous neglect." Shepherding mass-movement recruits was not spectacular or even attractive. Christian values did not filter down from the better-cared-for institutional mass-movement centers, such as Ongole and Kurnool, to the rural mass-movement Christians, and the resulting conditions of neglect are "repugnant." There was overstress without intensive care; for example, premature attempts to force self-support have produced unhappy reactions. The proper proportion of time, personnel and funds which should be assigned to qualitative effort during the periods of group-gravitation into the Christian community is under discussion; the urge for quantitative results seems to smother intensive claims. The evils of neglect are so intrenched as to affect adversely all Christian leaders and handicap present and future progress.⁵

Organized welfare work with community service programs does not receive measurable consideration.

The Telugu missionary leaders are sturdy individualists and positive denominationalists, although the mission maintains representatives on inter-mission boards and institutions, such as Andhra Christian Council, Madras Christian College, Madras Representative Council. There is little vital interest in church union. The alleged reason for not participating in the proposed scheme of union for South India is that the autonomy of Baptist churches would be jeopardized by accepting the episcopacy proposed. Perhaps not less potent, but not so patent, is the cautious theological conservatism of the missionary leaders, and the high value placed on their approved form of the ordinance of baptism.

The only noticeable integration of effort obtains through the common denominational purpose which gives a certain set and trend to operations. Each field is under the individualistic leadership of the missionary in charge. This makes for diversity of experiment and local efficiency. And although each field reflects the supreme interest and natural capacity of the missionary in resourceful adaptation to the perplexities and exigencies of his local field, the values of coördination are not achieved. Furloughs and retirement prevent balance and continuity of plans.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Among the achievements are a suggested variety of policies, programs and methods; instructive experiments in church-building and self-

⁵ See Curtis, J. A., *Neglect of Mass Movement* (pamphlet).

support; a demonstration of the strength and weakness of a modestly trained evangelistic ministry intended for, contented to serve and acceptable to poor village constituencies, especially as related to the maintenance of religious zeal and to the problem of qualified leadership for undelayed Indianization. The spirit of aggressive evangelism has been sustained unabated through successive generations, but the paucity of strong outstanding Indian leaders is lamentable.

These Telugu Baptist Christians illustrate that naïve, unfaltering faith, experiential satisfaction, glowing prayer-life and passionate evangelistic drive found in the book of Acts.

THE METHODIST WORK IN BENGAL, LUCKNOW, NORTH INDIA AND NORTHWEST INDIA CONFERENCES

The percentage of illiteracy among village Christians and those living in the mohallas of towns and cities is between ninety and one hundred; for example, a survey of 1,300 families (2,180 adults) showed that only 121 men and 49 women were literate—that is to say 7.8 per cent., and this is probably too high (see Harrington survey). In one of the Calcutta churches (Howrah-Sibpur) all members are illiterate. It is a common experience in visiting villages in each of these four conferences to find that there are no literate adults among the Christians. In the Firdapur circuit of the Bareilly district there are fourteen literate people to be found in the seventy villages among the Christians. In five villages visited in the Budaun district there were only five literate adults. In ten villages visited in the Bareilly district there were only two adults literate. In the Ghaziabad district, eleven adult literates (men) were found in one village of Chamar Christians; in another village, four literates; in others, none. In Ghaziabad itself reporting more than 2,400 baptized Christians, no adult over thirty years of age was literate. This condition as to literacy is doubtless due to the general lack of primary schools. Although representatives of the Woman's Board are doing heroic work in starting and maintaining simple elementary schools, the quality and length of instruction does not insure literacy; also, although Government schools are maintained in many of these villages, parents affirm that both pupils and teachers, being caste folk, make their children's attendance unwelcome and even unbearable.

The Christian attainments of these Christians, except in centers where educational institutions are maintained, are few, simple and often mixed with paganism. This shortage in attitude and action is not an indictment of Indian religious capacity or loyalty, but is the logical result of incomplete provision for their Christian nurture. In a recent survey of 1,300 Christian families it was found that "all but fifty-one adult couples out of 1,100 were married by non-Christian rites and that 33 per cent. of these 1,300 families have idols or shrines or maintain temple relationships, and also that 34 per cent. of them wear *chutiyas* (sacred scalp-lock)." The average village Christian shows slight acquaintance with the teaching, life and death of Christ.

Although we find capable devoted Indian leaders, the great majority are very poorly trained and lack religious enthusiasm and purposeful aggressiveness. Indian leaders serving as district superintendents are very reluctant to dismiss workers even when their inefficiency is conspicuous. Missionaries when serving as district superintendents are usually too busy with other administrative tasks to be inspiring comrades or efficient superintendents. Indian workers are discouraged on account of the extension of their areas of responsibility and service, and on account of the frequent and often sudden reduction of their income.

The proportion of villages actually occupied in any given area where the Methodist Church assumes exclusive responsibility, is small indeed. The villages in which there are Christians—often only a few in number—are so widely scattered and the workers so few that adequate service is impossible. For example, in the Asansol district of the Bengal Conference Methodist Episcopal work is carried on in one hundred out of 1,000 villages, and even this work is less and less efficiently done on account of decreasing funds and number of workers. Ten years ago there were seven missionaries and thirty-seven Indian workers; now there are three missionaries and three ordained Indian pastors; buildings that used to be meeting places are falling into ruin.

The average number of Christian families in the scattered villages, nominally occupied, in many districts and larger sections, is fewer than three families to a village. The bearing is obvious of this general isolation of immature Christians upon Christian attainments and self-support.

Much has been said but little realized in the way of self-support. At present, owing to the exigencies arising from successive cuts in board appropriations, the burden of self-support is being hurriedly piled on the shoulders of Indian churches and Indian leaders. Indian leaders are disheartened by this procedure and their number is being depleted. No small portion of "benevolences" comes from a compulsory tithe of the Indian workers' salaries, deducted at the source. Sometimes the Indian worker is allowed to "volunteer" to tithe, but he knows that if he does not, his tenure is very insecure. The so-called "self-support" is allocated to workers as an amount which they *may* raise on the field; that is to say, a worker is told when a cut comes that he must reckon a third of his salary perhaps, as "self-support," and usually a tiny fraction of this is actually collected in the villages. In addition to this, many workers have a chance to "volunteer" to go on full "self-support" if they expect to be retained. For example, the superintendent for the Cawnpore District reports:

The amount of self-support as reported to the Annual Conference and cut from the salaries of the preachers is Rs.1,160. The amount of self-support actually raised by the preachers in the villages is Rs.92/12/6. . . . Benevolences raised in the district is Rs.1,492, out of which Rs.1,048 were raised in the cities of Allahabad and Cawnpore. The rest was paid from the tithe of the preacher. Nothing was contributed by the village Christians toward the benevolences.

It should be noted that although the general policy has resulted in forcing "self-support" upon more Indian workers, it has also resulted in decreasing the number of workers and in diminishing contributions from Indians for the Indian church. Because of the number of workers "volunteering" to go on "self-support," the easy but erroneous inference is that self-support is growing. Churches in town school centers are usually called "self-supporting" churches, but the fact is that 60 to 85 per cent. of the contributions come from missionaries, teachers and other mission employees.

In regard to the expansion of the church, the general policy in past years has been to baptize any and all who were willing, with little reference to the area covered and the probable care of these isolated converts. This was especially true in mass-movement days; in recent years, however, Christian leaders have had to extend themselves to hold the far-flung line even in a nominal way. More effort is now made to increase the number of communicants although little stress is put on preparation. Many Indian leaders and workers feel, although pressed from above to show "results," that it is folly to increase the size of the Christian community at a time when diminishing funds and force make it impossible to compass the present task. The Inter-area Conference (April, 1931) declares, "We recognize the fact that concentration is being forced upon us."

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

The Sunday-school statistics given in the annual conference reports cannot be called reliable. In city and town churches affiliated with educational institutions, there are good-sized Sunday schools with intelligent officers and teachers. Such schools are roughly graded and generally use the International Uniform Lessons. The Charter House program for Religious Education is generally regarded as too theoretical for use even in these church schools. In the villages, the Sunday schools are usually only such in name, generally consisting of adult groups who listen to a Bible story and some words of exhortation. More could hardly be expected in many districts where villages are so widely separated, the partly trained workers so few and the constituency almost wholly illiterate.

The official figures given below should not be taken too seriously since all too often they are generous estimates qualitatively and quantitatively.

With no evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that the estimates given for the year 1929 are not less generous than in former years, so that it is safe to infer that the Sunday-school trend is downward. Attention is called to the fact that according to 1929 official figures, the number of Sunday schools totals 2,266 and the number of officers and teachers totals 2,122, for these four conferences, which means that there were for this year 144 more Sunday schools than the total number of officers and teachers.⁶ Comment on the quality of work done under these circumstances is unnecessary.

⁶ See Annual Reports of these Conferences, *in loco*.

		Number of Sunday Schools	Officers and Teachers	Total Number of Pupils
Bengal	1925	145	232	5,225
	1929	132	233	5,422
Lucknow	1925	477	461	14,825
	1929	396	402	12,261
North India	1922	1,067	1,017	30,148
	1929	699	792	20,910
Northwest India	1926	1,175	750	39,390
	1929	1,039	695	33,274

In the mass-movement areas of these conferences the situation is critical. Perhaps mass movement is a misnomer since there was really neither mass nor movement except on the part of missionaries and Indian workers who were under constraint (both inner and outer) to go into villages widely scattered where one or more sweeper families were willing to be baptized. One prominent missionary defends the policy by affirming that they had to go where the Holy Spirit led, but conceded that occasionally a village was too far away to be worked. Leading Indian workers, district superintendents and others affirm that these mass-movement Christians, as a rule, are just where they were (religiously) two generations ago. One Indian district superintendent—recently a candidate for bishop—declares that all these mass-movement folks can only be called “baptized non-Christians.” In one of these mass-movement districts where he was superintendent, he tried repeatedly through several years to have these mass-movement Christians attend communion—without a single communicant appearing. Even quite recently baptism quotas were expected to be produced by workers, and instances are cited as not unusual where these Christians were repeatedly baptized as new converts.

The salvaging of the mass movement is regarded as a critical problem by Christian leaders in many districts.

THE NORTH INDIA AND PUNJAB PRESBYTERIAN WORK

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Church leaders are trained in a centrally located theological seminary, but comparatively few of the church workers are seminary trained. In the Farrukhabad District Evangelistic Report it is said that Indian workers are “low paid and poorly trained, with poor judgment and retiring nature and do not exert a very strong influence.” The report adds:

Of our eight village churches seven are churches in name and on paper only. The eldership is not kept up. It is hard to find desirable men to fill the places. There is not interest enough in the village to have stated meetings. Elders, not able to conduct meetings, give workers no support.⁷

⁷ See *Farrukhabad Evangelistic Report*, February, 1928.

Self-support is increasingly emphasized. Studies have been made to ascertain the potential giving possibilities of Indian Christians. In 1920 there were thirty-one organized churches of which nine were entirely self-supporting in the North India Mission; while in 1929 there were thirty-five organized churches, eleven of which were entirely self-supporting. In 1917 there were thirty organized churches, of which seven were self-supporting in the Punjab field, and in 1929 there were forty-six, of which thirteen were entirely self-supporting. It is well, however, to distinguish between the immediate and ultimate sources of "self-support," since much of this self-support comes indirectly from America. For example, in the North India Mission the total amount received for church work during 1930 was approximately Rs.18,538. The sources of the contributions that made up this amount were as follows:

Missionaries	Rs.7,634
Mission employees	6,542
Independent members of congregation..	4,362

The sum spent the same year for repairs and taxes almost equals this amount. In addition to the above, Rs.2,729 were raised and spent on home missions.

In the Punjab field the contributions of the village Christians (Christian community in towns and cities excluded), in 1917, were Rs.4,041 and in 1927, Rs.4,761—a small gain. Villages in which Christians live numbered 1,217 in 1917 and 1,398 in 1927; communicants (villages) in 1917 were 3,283, and in 1927 only 370 more—a gain of 11 per cent. in communicants. In the North India area comparative figures for 1909-29 inclusive show trends as to self-support, expansion, etc. For example, the offerings declined after 1916 and did not return to the same level until 1922, when the amount was Rs.10,777; by 1929 offerings had reached Rs.15,036 but wages had doubled since 1918 and the salaries of missionaries increased approximately 75 per cent. "The American Church is sending out Rs.100,000 more money than in 1918." Evangelistic workers in mass-movement territory since 1917 have fallen from 106 to 86, and in non-mass-movement territory from 35 to 22. Communicants numbered 5,809 in 1918 and 4,628 in 1929—a loss of 20.3 per cent. Workers numbered 450 in 1918 and 336 in 1929 (in 1909 there were 363)—a decrease of 25 per cent.⁸ Substantial church development in these missions during the last fifteen or twenty years is not obvious.

NURTURE

Sunday schools of mediocre character are conducted in city and town churches. Some are roughly graded especially where there are educational institutions and day-school teachers available who have some training in religious education. The influence of Moga deserves special mention. In the villages Sunday schools are rare and these usually inefficient. Speaking of his district (Farrukhabad) a missionary superintendent says, "So far as I know none of the workers is conducting a Sunday school." In the North India area sixty Sunday schools are reported (1929) with

⁸ *Comparative Figures North India Mission*, compiled by Lawrence.

165 teachers and 3,068 pupils. In the Punjab area there were (1930) 103 Sunday schools, 192 teachers and 2,671 pupils. This means that in the North India area there is an average of only $2\frac{3}{4}$ teachers per Sunday school and in the Punjab area 1-8/9 teachers per Sunday school. In the North India Mission area, in 1918, Sunday-school "attendance" numbered 7,759; in 1923 the Sunday-school "attendance" is given as 2,996. This means a decrease of 61.4 per cent. between 1918 and 1923; attendance has remained almost stationary since. In the Punjab Mission area there were 110 Sunday schools in 1917, and 115 in 1927 (103 in 1920). That is, the number of Sunday schools shows an increase of 4.5 per cent. from 1917 to 1927 and a decrease of 10 per cent. as between 1927 and 1930.

EVANGELISM

The evangelistic programs actually followed consist largely of bazaar preaching, often by missionaries, in the cities and towns, the district-touring by devoted overworked missionaries, including conspicuous efforts by single women missionaries, and such intensive and some extensive efforts as are made by mediocre Indian workers in widely scattered (excluding Kasur district) villages. The mass-movement "Christians" in these areas can be characterized only as part-way or part-time Christians. The present missionary force and the few Indian workers, usually of a poor quality, are unequal to the task of nurturing this inherited constituency scattered far and wide in the midst of an impinging non-Christian environment. This isolated constituency, poverty-pressed, illiterate and untaught, cannot be blamed for its lack of Christian attainments, nor can the present force be expected to improve the situation without radical concentration. Losses, often through the activities of the Arya Samaj, are noticeable.

THE SIALKOT WORK

(United Presbyterian)

A policy of self-support has been in operation for many years and is pressed so vigorously that to many Indians it seems to be an end in itself. Of the 106 organized congregations, seventy are reported as self-supporting (1930). The salaries of village pastors are meager and uncertain, a sufficient number of villages being assigned to enable a pastor to collect his salary if he is aggressive in this respect; pastoral visits and "chanda" (offerings) are often concomitant. The burden of raising their own support from very poor and scattered Christians eats up the time and often crushes the spirit of pastors. In city churches a considerable portion of "self-support" comes from missionaries and Indian mission employees; for example, in the city church of Rawalpindi, of those contributing to the church only six are not in the employ of the mission. This church has been "self-supporting" since 1902:

The contributions of the Indian church in 1909 were Rs.13,477, in 1919 they were Rs.20,633, and in 1929 they were Rs.61,000.

	<i>Contributions of Indian Church</i>	<i>Churches Self-Supporting</i>
1922	Rs.34,440	35
1923	33,415	40
1924	45,284	42
1925	48,356	48
1926	46,793	50
1927	55,000	65
1928	52,000	—
1929	61,000	70

It is maintained that this growth of Indian contributions and self-support is due in part to the Synod's evangelistic campaign.⁹ The number of organized congregations shows a 20 per cent. increase from 1925 to 1929; during the same period self-supporting churches increased 46 per cent.

INDIANIZATION

The Punjabis are naturally independent and self-assertive, yet the depressed classes lack the self-respect which is normal in a just environment. Becoming Christian has tended to lessen this inferiority complex.

The situation in the Sialkot Mission as to the relation between the mission and the Synod is critical. The Indians outnumber the missionaries in the Synod. The Indian leaders are aggressive and insistent. The missionaries of the Women's Board outnumber the men of the mission two to one! Wives have no vote. The women ("Regular" and Women's Board) have no vote in the Synod; the Women's Board in America and their appointees on the field have little if any sympathetic interest in the Indianization of administration. The Foreign Board urges closer relationship between the mission and the Synod and some missionaries approve, but these proposals do not affect the work of the Women's Board—the topic is taboo in mission meetings! Some missionaries feel that the mission, which theoretically is the agent of the Board of Foreign Missions, is in reality the agent of the Women's Board! Requests from the Synod have been presented to the mission, committees (mission and joint) have been named, concessions have been made and the Synod has protested the action of the mission. The situation is delicate and solution elusive. On a mission committee of seven, appointed to confer with a Synod committee of Indians, only two members were under sixty years of age and none was younger than forty-five.

Leadership in secondary and higher education is denied to Indians with training and experience. Missionaries lack confidence in Indian capacity for educational leadership. Indians reply that the Government accords to them high places in education and is satisfied with the service rendered.

All schools, except the theological seminary, and hospitals, are controlled by the mission. Of forty-six church buildings, twenty-six are owned by foreigners; all the college, high-school, middle-school and industrial-school buildings are owned by foreigners; of the primary school buildings eighty-six are owned by foreigners and fifteen by the Synod.

⁹ See Heinrich, J. C., *Evangelism and Church Finance*, p. 2 (pamphlet).

SOCIAL SERVICE WORK

Perhaps it is well that "social service" work has not been extensively tried along Western lines. Many of the simple efforts that obtain are largely palliative and have not been comprehensive as to inclusiveness of classes. In most attempts "social service" has been generally confined to depressed unfortunates. In some places religion has been tabooed lest non-Christians be alienated. This is contrary to the spirit and genius of India. Hinduism is a socio-religious system. The religion of Hindus is woven into every household, social and livelihood procedure. Attempts at socialization must be inclusive of caste as well as outcaste, and the socio-religious matrix cannot be ignored or neglected with promise. The Servants of India Society with a varied program largely inspired by Christianity, suggests one way in which Christian and non-Christian, caste and outcaste, may cooperate successfully.

SUMMARIZED FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

The more significant achievements of missionary effort are attributable to indirect influence.

The intangible realities of mission work are not statistically discerned.

Missionary policies and programs are dominated by Western ecclesiastical traditions.

The lack of comprehensiveness as to constituency and objectives actually pursued is conspicuous.

The need of "concentration" and of intensive Christian nurture of the younger and older is imperative.

The allocation of missionary personnel and appropriations deserve consideration on a more stable scale of emphases, the base line of which should be the cardinal objective of missions, clearly drawn. The clear-cut valid purpose of missions should become the major interest of all.

More money may well be spent for carefully selected, specially qualified and trained short-time missionaries and for highly qualified Indian men and women.

Since Indianization is inevitable and even impending, only the preparatory free participation of Indian personnel, and missionary modesty and conciliation, can prevent disaster. Gradual achievement henceforth on missionary initiative is a prerequisite of success. This process should not be "handing over" bit by bit, but a gradual coalescence without personnel distinctions.

A wholesome survey-interest is discernible. In several fields a trend appears toward new alignments based on a frank study of pertinent facts previously ignored.

The economic status, the intellectual interests and the religious attainments of the present (depressed-class) constituency scarcely warrant the hope of satisfactory church development unless and until work among the castes is seriously attempted and success partially achieved.

Assuming a stable government for at least two generations (now reasonably assured—August 1931) and a general recasting of the missionary enterprise, difficult but possible, American givers may be expected to respond.

Extract from "Mission Education in India," Fact-Finders' Reports, Leslie B. Sipple:

We have seen that, judged by the educational standard of literacy alone, village primary schools as at present operated by missions cannot be justified. The efficiency standard of literacy is thus brought into conflict with the religious standard of evangelism or proselytizing. This conflict between evangelism and modern educational practice is well stated in a reply:

The most significant thing you can say about the village schools of our mission as a whole is that they are run as a means to help pay the cost of evangelistic and parish work. Heretofore, "evangelism" in its older, more narrow sense, was the great aim of the missionaries. They believed in education. They believed that educating the people was a real expression of the Christian spirit, and necessary for the continuing life of Protestant Christianity here. But first and foremost, "evangelism," and the increase of baptisms—no formalism—but true, vital religion.

Therefore they began work in a village, *because* there was a Christian group there, or the hopes of establishing one, *not* because the people there had no school, and needed one. Now this motive still predominates in our mission, and the pastors have it more strongly than the missionaries. Our pastors are more interested in evangelism than in education. To some of them the actual practice is, to keep the school up enough to draw the Government grant and so help pay the expenses of the man, who is first a *catechist* and second, a teacher. This is exactly what the congregation desires also.

That there should be a conflict between evangelism and school efficiency does not seem necessary to the writer. However, it shows again in the fact that in the 173 villages studied, 50 per cent. of the teachers act also as preachers in their villages or adjacent ones.

Excerpts from "The Church in Burma," Fact-Finders' Reports, Daniel J. Fleming.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The total Christian community (made up both of Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians) numbered 257,106 in 1921. The largest five denominations are as follows:

	Number	Per Cent.
Baptist	160,656	62.5
Roman Catholic	71,941	28.0
Anglican	20,410	7.9
Presbyterian	1,508	.59
Methodist	1,424	.55

It will be noticed that the Baptist community is by far the largest, with the Roman Catholic a distant second, and the Anglicans a still more distant third. Outside of these three groups there are only 4,099 Christians

in Burma. Roughly out of ten Christians in Burma six are connected more or less closely with America through the American Baptist mission; three are Roman Catholic, and one is an Anglican. Burma is more Protestant than India as a whole; for while in India Protestants comprise only 48 per cent. of the entire number of Christians, in Burma Protestants comprise 72 per cent. of the total Christian population.

The coherence of the Christian body in Burma is still further broken up by race; for the quarter of a million Christians are distributed as follows:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Protestant</i>	<i>Roman Catholic</i>
The Karen Group	178,225	141,719	36,506
Tamils and Telugus	19,861	5,645	14,216
Anglo-Indian	16,658	7,622	9,036
Burma Group and Mons	15,381	9,046	6,335
Shan, Chin and Kachin	14,154	12,332	1,822
European and Allied Races	8,630	7,159	1,471
Others	4,197	1,642	2,555

Thus of ten Christians, seven are from the Karen group. The Karens are much the most numerous among the Protestants and also among the Roman Catholics.

A STUDY OF DUPLICATION

At Insein the Baptists have a Burman Theological Seminary with thirty-three students, and the Burmese Bible Women's School with fifteen students. At Thongwa, thirty miles distant, the Methodists have eleven students in their men's and women's Bible training school (costing \$51,000), which is also for Burmese and for practically the same grade of workers as those who attend the two Baptist institutions at Insein.

From the point of view of liberal laymen financing an understaffed and undersupported world enterprise, this would seem to be a clear case of unwise duplication in the use of resources. One seminary could easily handle all the Burmese theological students, and one Bible school all the Burmese women, coming for training. A better quality of training could be given, and the spirit of coöperation encouraged, in combined institutions; whereas, at present, according to the Methodist District Superintendent, the separate institutions are tending to keep the two denominations further apart.

If, however, the situation is approached from the point of view of local conditions and attitudes, serious obstacles to a coöperative training center at once are evident. An early conservatism and strongly denominational consciousness still persist among many of the older and more influential Baptist missionaries. While members of the younger group, on the whole, are more liberal and would be willing for an associate membership (communion without immersion), it is by no means certain that a proposal for coöperation with the Methodists would carry the mission.

Missionary attitudes are strongly reflected in the Baptist Christian nationals. Dr. Smith, for forty years a missionary, sent generations of pastors out from the seminary imbued with the conception of closed communion. Although the chairman (a national) of the Burman Joint Com-

mittee (the highest coördinating body between the mission and Burmese Baptist churches) thought that the Burmese would be open to reasonable appeal, remnants of the old conservatism still doubtless characterize the majority.

A third conservative factor is found in the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and its donors who have given specific gifts to the Burmese Women's Bible School and would not be interested in a union effort.

Denominational fear is another obstacle. Baptists do not wish to have the way open for aggression by Methodists, since their own organization on principle is loose in contrast with an episcopacy which is able to formulate a policy and follow through continuously. Baptist missionaries in Burma believe more in coöperation than in organic union, so that the argument, that training the future ministry together would encourage church union, does not make an effective appeal. On the other hand, at present the numbers of Methodist students, compared with the Baptists, is so small that the Methodists feel that they would be at a disadvantage among the Baptists.

In any coöperative plan, special denominational tenets—viz., immersion, episcopacy—would be taught in separate classes for the two groups. But the president of the Baptist Burman seminary thinks that one would have to express one's particular conviction in so many classes that coöperation would be impracticable.

A sixth obstacle is financial. The Baptist training plants and staffs are larger than the Methodist, so that the latter at this stage would probably not be ready to coöperate financially to an extent that would interest the Baptists. Again the Baptist institutions have succeeded in enlisting the supporting interest of the Burmese constituency, so that while the training institutions are technically under the mission, the latter could not wisely negotiate for a coöperative training center without full conference with this Burmese Christian constituency.

Hence a problem for the Appraisers would seem to be: Not whether they should encourage steps toward immediate coöperative training in Burma, theoretically ideal as that might be: Rather, whether they should encourage the Laymen to indicate to the boards that they will not be interested in the prolonged support of such duplication unless educational measures are adopted that will remove the obstacle arising from attitudes in the American giving-constituency, the missionary staff, and the Burmese Church. Only thus would eventual coöperation become possible.

The Baptists have work in twenty-eight of the forty-four districts of Burma. Of the sixteen districts which the Baptists do not occupy, eleven have no mission work, and five have been entered by the Wesleyan Methodists. Some idea of possible future overlapping may be gained from noting that in one district (Rangoon) there are eight societies; in another (Pegu) there are four; in five there are three societies each; while in eight districts there are two societies each.

SUGGESTIONS BY CHRISTIAN LEADERS

In view of the fact that Buddhism in spite of its monastic system has actually entered with service into the lives of the people, various sugges-

tions were made as to factors in indigenization that might prove wise. Better opportunities for quiet prayer might be provided through churches being kept open, thus following the custom of the Burmese pagodas. Religious services could be held (as by the Buddhists) for blessing a traveler, or for building a home, or when a baby first eats solid food. Thought could be given to the fact that for centuries religious impulses have impelled Burmans to take refuge from the world in monasteries, and hence as to whether a system that had directed the hopes of a people for two thousand years should be wholly ignored.

Missionaries see the rare opportunity of coöperating with Burmans in this movement. Evidence showed that an over-insistence that Burmans attend to their own indigenization may be interpreted as the disclosure of a conviction that there is nothing indigenous worthy of incorporation. A still stronger reason for coöperation is that historically, Christianity approached Buddhism in Burma by antithesis. "When our forefathers embraced Christianity they were led to think that almost everything native was heathen," says one Burmese Christian. Hence foreign ways have become indigenous for the more or less isolated Christian community.

If the missions of Burma are to take seriously the judgment of the Burma Christian Council that the time has come for indigenization, some adjustment in attitude will be necessary even in the present missionary staff. Although there were a few missionaries who were constructively interested in greater Burmanization of the church, there were more who were unsympathetic and unexpectant. The temper of the latter may be illustrated by the following judgment:

After twenty-three years of work with Burman Buddhists I have been unable to find anything distinctive in Buddhism that should be brought over into Christianity. If Christianity is true and Christ the only Saviour then things in both religions are mutually exclusive. Whenever and wherever Christianity has taken anything over from a non-Christian religion, Christianity has been decidedly the loser. No further modifications are necessary.

A group of Christians testified:

If we do anything according to Buddhism we are censured.

To take part in or contribute money toward the Burmese New Year is considered sinful. We are so far Westernized that most of us look down on Burmese literature and music with contempt. The result is that we have become a distinct community.

Each church service attended proved to be almost an exact replica of those in the West; and more than one missionary when challenged to point out a single detail in which any adaptation to the genius and culture of Burma had been made, failed to respond. In music, architecture, modes of worship, and theology Burman Christians are following the West.

THE WRITER'S SUMMARY

There are certain desirable changes which can be brought about largely by the vote of those concerned. These would include such items

as a continuance of the policy of turning over powers and responsibilities to nationals, the clearing up of titles to the ownership of property, and the reshaping of administration for greater efficiency. Possibly in this group should come even such pressing advances as the evangelization of the Pwos and the Buddhists.

There are also certain major issues that partake more of the nature of changed attitude than of mere repairs. Change in these would at once affect many practical issues.

CLARIFICATION OF AIM

Burman Christians and missionaries have been loyal to the traditional formulation of aim. But the statement made at Jerusalem in 1928, under the pressure of this new age, calls for a "program of missionary work among all peoples sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships." One finds confusion of thought, among both missionaries and nationals, about what this means in the concrete—in mission policy, in actual program, and in allotment of funds. This need is so great that nothing less is demanded than an educational process that will clarify for boards, missionary staff and national leaders the essential nature of the Christian movement and the extent to which its aim should be progressively related to the total need of a given people. A statement of aim is needed in terms so explicit that its bearing may be apparent upon such modern practical issues as nationalism, communalism, concentration, and rural welfare. Vitality in the Christian movement is manifested not by stereotyped programs but by ability to renew its expressional activities in forms consonant with deepening insights. Moreover, such clarification, if effectively interpreted to the giving constituency, ought to do much to build up confidence in those for whom the missionary aim as traditionally stated may have lost meaning and directive force.

THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF ADEQUATE CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP, BOTH LAY AND MINISTERIAL

Education for leadership should be creatively developed in Burma to suit actual tasks, and be of first quality whether for higher-grade or for lower-grade workers. This will require the release of personnel, experience, and money. But this is a central need in Burma today.

AN EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDE

From one viewpoint the function of a missionary is not so much to get things done as to help people grow; and hence the type of missionary needed is less the executive and more the educator. This change in temper of mind comes not by vote, but by being subjected to the educational point of view. Educational principles can throw much light upon such problems as the practice of building up large institutions with Western money, the process of devolving powers and responsibilities upon nationals, the avoidance of paternalism, the coming into closer, more human contact with the people, and upon all the practical methods of developing an independent and indigenous church. It would be part of this policy to

keep every phase of the work in periodic touch with the best technical assistance which the church of the West can bring to bear.

A RURAL CONSCIOUSNESS

There is evidence enough to indicate that village reconstruction is a realm in which the Christian movement may regain pioneering leadership and may demonstrate its interest in meeting the comprehensive needs of men. Hence the best technique of the social sciences may well be brought to bear upon this problem, and recruiting plans may well include a few creative persons capable of working out for themselves and others the practical programs required.

A COÖPERATIVE SPIRIT

There are places where the Christian movement lags because of denominational and administrative independence, as in the production of literature and the training of leaders. Burma has its inter-racial and inter-communal strife; a ministry of reconciliation is needed; and this challenge is not being adequately met by the Christian church. Then, also, a richness of growth, experience, and service is possible when Christian fellowship becomes inter-racial and international and includes just such different cultural groups as are found among the peoples and missions of Burma. In the development of the coöperative spirit, rather than in merely this or that adjustment, the church will serve both itself and the growing nation in which it finds itself. It is against such a background and such a passion that one would discuss details—waste in duplication, overlapping, the production of an adequate literature, intercommunion, union institutions, and finally church union.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIAN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA AND BURMA

India

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION is essentially a *development*, the development of personality and the integration of individuals in a wholesome social order. Although education is not a deposit, it involves the transmission of culture. No provincial culture is adequate, however, in these days of the mutual appreciation and interdependence of peoples. The development of balanced individuality, either as persons or peoples, is impossible in isolated self-sufficiency. At the same time, no international standard of education is desirable in process or product; and it is even less desirable that one civilization should impose its standards upon another. Besides, a worthy educational objective to-day is not attained by aiming chiefly at "making a living," or even at "making a life," but by learning to *live together*, appropriating the highest indigenous values and orientating the socio-religious order to universal realities.

The type of education, that is, the immediate and ultimate objectives, the materials of instruction and the methods employed, has always been influenced by the theories of Government and the scale of values of other organizations making institutional provision. The ruling family "must be educated," whether the few in a monarchy or the many in a democracy; church leaders "must be trained" in order to perpetuate and expand the organization and its service. The naïve superiority of both religious and civil leaders in the field of education, and the self-sufficiency of each, is one of the tragedies of Western civilization; another is the self-complacency with which each group has viewed its own stereotyped methods; and still another is the exclusive importance attached by various groups to their own political or religious—even ecclesiastical—type of education.

About a century ago, Western control and Western religious agents began to shape India's education policies and provisions.* Alien con-

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, L. B. Sipple, *in loco*.

trol was traditionally Christian and politically monarchical. The first Protestant missionaries were European. Educational provision began at the top. The training of the "directing class" and the preparation of the clergy were regarded as paramount. It is not strange that in those days education was often imported, imposed, undemocratic. It would be ungracious to condemn, because in general, educational efforts then were not in accord with the most progressive democratic theories of today. As we look back, however, we cannot approve, nor can we delay in the recasting of missionary educational policies. In general, American missionaries conformed to the procedure of the Government, whose guests they were and under whom they served: partly in deference, primarily to secure "recognition" and aid, and also, perhaps, because they lacked resourceful independence. We are considering here the educational heritage of Western efforts in India only for the guidance supplied in relation to mission primary and secondary schools. It is assumed that Western science and Christianity carry values which have been and will continue to be welcomed in the Orient.

I

THE HERITAGE

During the early decades of the nineteenth century the educational situation in India was confused and tense, especially in Bengal. British opinion, Indian interest and missionary leaders were divided into "Orientalists" and "Anglicists." The Indian reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, believed in English education and Western science; Carey appreciated Oriental culture; Duff has been regarded an "Anglicist." In an address delivered in Calcutta before the General Assembly on May 25, 1835, Alexander Duff said: "With regard to *the medium* of teaching in our Institution, it is *English*. There is appended to it a Bengali school, where the pupils daily attend in successive classes, to perfect their acquaintance with the vernacular tongue. . . . What we declare without fear of contradiction is, that while it is confessed that the vernacular languages alone are available for imparting an *elementary* education to the *mass* of the people of Hindustan, it is insisted on *as a fact*, that these languages do not *at present* afford an *adequate medium* for communicating a knowledge of the *higher* departments of literature, science, and theology. . . . And when the former (native languages) become sufficiently enriched by a copious infusion and intermixture of expressive terms drained from other

sources, the latter (English) may, as a medium of acquiring knowledge, be altogether dispensed with. Thus, *for the present*, must the English language in India be viewed as the medium of acquisition to the thoroughly educated *few*; and the vernacular dialects to the ordinarily educated *many*.”*

Primary education for *all* did not primarily concern anybody. Macaulay decided (1835) in favor of an “English education”: “A single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia,” since the wisdom of the East consists of “medical doctrine which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move to laughter the girls at an English boarding-school, history with kings thirty feet high, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.”** The Resolution of his day provided that “all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would best be employed on English education alone. His lordship in Council directs that all funds be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language.”

Mayhew maintains that “English as a temporary medium of instruction was reasonable. English as a living and virile language was bound to influence India. But English as a substitute for the indigenous classics was doomed to disastrous failure. And Macaulay’s confusion of these two aspects of English was to be equally disastrous. . . .” “When the ‘national’ schools that arose from the non-coöperation movement emphasized their aloofness from the satanic government schools by beginning English at an earlier stage, they may be said to have worked off in full India’s ‘ancient grudge’ against Macaulay.”***

Ramsay MacDonald comments, “The Macaulay Minute displayed no appreciation of the fact that the Indian mind was a product of history and not a blank sheet of paper upon which anything could be written by any teacher. We have been seeking to transfer Western civilization into the Indian mind, gutted of its Indian traditions. And then we wonder at our failure.”****

In general it may be said that this “outsideness,” conspicuously illustrated in Bengal, was one of the initial errors in the educational policy for India. In South India, however, a different approach was made: in 1835 the Madura Mission was begun by the American

* *The Church of Scotland’s India Mission.*

** Macaulay’s Minute, 1835. See p. 107, *Bureau of Education Record, India, 1781-1839.*

*** Mayhew, Arthur, *The Education of India*, pp. 88, 89.

**** MacDonald, Ramsay, *Government of India.*

Board.* A mission school system was at once organized. These were free schools in Madura and the villages round about. There were 59 in 1837, of which three were exclusively for girls. These schools were held in vestibules of temples, mission bungalows and other available quarters in the city and villages. Within three years one-half of the school-going children of Madura were attending mission schools. These schools were conducted in Tamil and Telugu for the Hindus, and in Hindustani for the Mohammedans. The teaching staff was largely Hindu and Mohammedan. An English school was established for "training teachers and other workers." One of the reasons given for starting English schools later was that English was "at present the only channel of making known European science." By the year 1860 the plan for the mission was "instruction only in the vernacular," since in 1859 the Prudential Committee of the American Board had directed "that instruction be in the vernacular and that the English language be not among the studies." Since 1894 English was reintroduced into the curriculum of Otis Hall (school for girls), Madura, for all students in the second standard upwards, in order to meet the English requirements in Madras higher schools.

The use of English in the schools of India is a hot spot in education today. We are only concerned here with this controversy so far as it affects mission education. So long as English is so generally desired by Indians as a medium of Western science and required as a condition of the most remunerative and influential service, mission secondary and higher schools must meet the demand in order to serve Indian youth. It should be clearly seen, however, that the opposition of many Indian educators to *any* high-school system which compels *all* pupils to study and recite in English exclusively, is not sentiment but sense; many pupils, especially girls, regard "all high-school work in a foreign tongue" as an unnecessary memory burden, a disproportionate claim on time and energy during school days and of little life-value to them. A Gujarat educator says, "Imagine the great memory strain it is to assimilate everything we learn through a foreign tongue. It makes a diminished education for our young people, particularly for girls, to a disastrous degree."** Certainly missions should seek such flexibility of curricula as will obviate this evil for those to whom it is really such. The long neglect of Indian culture has left a heritage of resentment. Mission schools should lead in the recovery of all indigenous culture which enriches Indian life.

It has been said: "All the efforts made since (Macaulay Minute)

* See Chandler, J. S., *Seventy-five Years in the Madura Mission*, pp. 46 ff., 324.

** President Kalelkar, *Gujrati Vidyapoth*.

to correct the initial bias away from Indian culture, away from mass education, away from a reasonable primary educational system, in favor of a system which would base secondary education upon a sound primary education system integrated with Indian religion and culture have never been able to restore the balance. The beginning was at the top, and Indian education in consequence grew into the top-heavy inverted pyramid which it still remains.”*

Missions, however, have been pioneers in primary as well as in a somewhat artificial secondary education. While some missions have attempted little in primary education, many have established too many schools. These primary schools have too often been conducted as a family-approach for evangelization; frequently also they have been inferior to the inadequate Government primary schools, and like them have lost most of the pupils before they attained assured literacy, and which gave the small per cent. staying through the fourth grade the three “R’s” only, and these in stark sterility. This inherited handicap can only be overcome by strict concentration.

None of us, however, should be unmindful of the heritage of appreciated service rendered by mission primary and secondary schools. Thousands of Indians started to become useful and leading citizens through training made available to them only in mission schools. The mission primary school has usually been the only school open to the children of depressed-class Christians. If it had not been for the mission primary schools most of the Christian Indian leaders of today would not have been developed.

II

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS**

The contrast between the educational achievements of India and Japan is striking. By laying its educational foundation on the primary school, Japan has become a nation of one language and is stated to have the highest percentage of literacy of any country in the world. India, with over five times the population of Japan, has approximately the same number of children in primary schools and in higher schools, but it has one of the lowest percentages of literacy of any great country in the world.*** Protestant missions, including

* Oaten, Professor E. F., Presidency College, Calcutta, *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1929.

** Basic data from Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, L. B. Sipple.

*** Differences as to climate, racial aggressiveness, pressure of population on the land and poverty are factors to be considered in such a comparison.

the representatives of our coöperating boards, have been active and influential in education in both countries. In India today, by far the larger number of mission schools are of primary grade, a field which now is served almost exclusively by the public schools in Japan. Japan promulgated her code of education in 1872. It required that every child attend school for four years (later extended to six). At present there are eight million children enrolled in primary schools, and a little over one million in the higher schools. In India, with five times the population of Japan, there are 8,256,760 enrolled in "recognized" primary schools, and 792,201 high school pupils;* but one should not take these figures at their face value, for while high schools in Indian cities are really schools, most of the village primary schools are hardly worthy of the name. Only 28 per cent. of the primary teachers of all India have completed a middle school education (seven or eight years of schooling) and a very large proportion of these teachers have only completed the primary school grades.**

Since 1882, the grants-in-aid system of India has greatly stimulated private enterprise in education. In 1920, education became a "transferred subject"; that is, confided almost entirely to the care of the provinces.

The educational policy of India has been criticized by both Indians and British on several counts, the chief of which, as already noted, is "top-heaviness." Other criticisms are that the curriculum is academic or literary, rather than practical and vocational, and that the examination system stifles initiative and makes procedure in the school-room formal and pedantic. There is an increasing demand that schools should contribute more efficiently to raising the general level of literacy, and of the standard of living. There is also a demand that more emphasis be placed on the education of girls and women.

SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION IN THE MISSION PROGRAM

Measured by the number of persons engaged in the activity and in money cost, it is the most important phase of mission work. More than 50 per cent. (27,500 out of 54,000) of all Protestant workers, foreign and indigenous, are classified as educational workers. Out of 5,000 foreign missionaries 1,100 (1929) are directly engaged in educational work. The 12,000 or more Protestant registered schools, with an enrollment of approximately 600,000 students, constitute about 6 per cent. of all the schools and enroll a like percentage of all the pupils in registered schools in India. With respect to the high

* *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission* (Hartog).

** *Ibid.*

schools, the percentage is larger—about 12 per cent. In the field of girls' and women's education, missions are making their most distinctive contribution. Of the recognized schools for girls and women, not less than 50 per cent. of all colleges, 45 per cent. of high schools, 30 per cent. of middle schools, and 50 per cent. of teacher training schools are operated by missions. Expenditures for recognized mission schools (1926-27) totaled Rs.26,085,000, of which Rs.8,567,000 were mission funds, Rs.7,638,000 were tuition fees, and Rs.7,262,000 Government grants. The schools of the six coöperating boards number more than 4,000 with an enrollment of over 160,000 pupils. They furnish approximately 25 per cent. of the number of schools, number of pupils, and amount of money contributed by all missions.

RELATION OF MISSION SCHOOLS TO GOVERNMENT

Fully 30 per cent. of the total cost of mission schools is paid from public funds as grants-in-aid. All provinces have more or less liberal plans for grants. To obtain such aid, mission schools must submit to Government inspection and meet certain Government requirements. Among the conditions attached to grants are determination by public authority of the maximum number of students that can be accommodated in existing buildings and in each class-room; regular inspection, the records and accounts accessible on the visit of an inspecting officer; conformity to departmental rules relating to construction of buildings, size of classes, curricula, scholarships, free studentships, hostels, transfer of pupils, discipline and holidays, selection of textbooks, and appointment and dismissal of teachers—subject to the approval of the department.

Many mission leaders contend that to accept the conditions attached to grants-in-aid is to surrender to Government the control of mission education, and that mission schools often become secular institutions and lose their distinctive Christian character. Other mission leaders are of the opinion that the safeguards which the Government imposes for grants are no more than the Government should require. It is contended that these schools must be "recognized" in order that pupils may be protected in the quality of instruction, whether grants are accepted or not, hence the Government curriculum must be followed regardless of grants. This view had evidently prevailed, as most mission schools accept grants-in-aid. The opinion of Government school officials is that grants do not hamper schools in curriculum. The Government curriculum is only a minimum, which good schools may augment. Freedom in teaching the curriculum is permitted. It is quite evident that the practical necessity of

recognition, rather than acceptance of grants, has been the influence that has tended to secularize and standardize mission schools.

The provinces attempt to guarantee religious neutrality in schools which are supported in whole or in part by public funds. There is no desire to abolish all religious instruction. India as a whole, including non-Christians, does not accept the principle of separation of education and religion, but there is decided opposition to compulsory religious teaching for pupils whose parents object. There has been a wide variation in policy by mission schools in regard to the "Conscience Clauses,"* but with a tendency toward loyal coöperation with Government officials in regard to their application. Our recommendation** is for full approval by the schools of the principles underlying the Conscience Clauses and unreserved coöperation in carrying them out. Care should be taken to conserve for the children all valuable elements of their Indian heritage.

THE DISTINCTIVE PLACE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The secondary schools are the most important part of the Christian education system. They are of three kinds: high schools, middle English or Anglo-vernacular middle schools, and middle vernacular schools. The middle English school leads to the high-school stage of instruction; the Anglo-vernacular also leads to the high school, but both English and the vernacular are taught. This type is becoming more popular. The middle vernacular school has a course complete in itself. It does not lead to high school, but there is a recent tendency to introduce English as an added subject in its curriculum. This type of school has been planned for rural sections and is of special benefit to them because its curriculum can be adapted to village needs, and because it is not controlled by university affiliations. The many difficulties in the way of conducting efficient Christian primary schools in Indian villages and the growing tendency of public authority to provide primary education in villages suggest the advisability of transferring some of the mission funds and personnel now being devoted to primary schools to middle vernacular schools, each school supplying the needs of several villages. Village handicrafts, sanitation and health, agriculture, elementary science, home arts, social service and the like, can be introduced. Village needs can be stressed and the pupils sent back to the village to assist in village betterment.

The six coöperating boards operate about 180 secondary schools, recognized and unrecognized, which have an enrollment of 27,800

* See "Collateral Data," this chapter.

** *Re-Thinking Missions*, p. 163.

pupils. It has not been possible to determine the exact allocation of funds by all boards between different types of educational work, nor in all instances the progress that has been made toward self-support. It is clear, however, that the proportion of educational funds going to the support of secondary schools is very large. The continuance of this large expenditure in the face of present conditions presents a very serious problem, in the solution of which it will doubtless be necessary to consolidate a great many schools. Coeducation in secondary schools is rare indeed, but a beginning has been made in some parts of India.

To a greater degree than in China or in Japan, the Christians in India depend upon the Christian schools for the education of their children. Caste divisions account in part for this dependence. While only a minority of the pupils are from Christian homes, the schools themselves seem to be practically indispensable to the Christian community.

ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS IN CHRISTIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Mission secondary schools have exerted a qualitative influence far beyond their numbers. They have been given credit, in certain areas, for setting the standard, at least in the past, for Government and other agencies, but their leadership has changed so rapidly that in certain sections many of these secondary schools, especially for boys, run but poor seconds to Government schools.

It is a common observation that mission secondary schools for girls are better than those for boys. The expenditure per pupil is approximately twice as great. The percentage of trained teachers is greater, also the percentage of Christian teachers. Girls' schools have a higher proportion of boarding-pupils than boys' schools, with consequent closer supervision. A larger proportion of the staff of girls' schools lives on the compound with the pupils. The management of the girls' schools is usually in the hands of one or more women missionaries who devote full time to educational work. The head of the boys' school frequently has a multiplicity of tasks, and sometimes is not an educationalist at all.

Christian secondary schools in India are the result not of comprehensive planning, but of the efforts of separate individuals and separate missions. Such help as they have had from each other has been incidental and occasional. One is surprised at the inequalities existing in institutions designed to produce similar results. There is no adequate exchange of ideas and information among schools. They

do not benefit by the knowledge of each other's experiments. There is no central employment agency for teachers in Christian schools.

There is a conspicuous absence of supervision of the work in these schools by persons trained for that function. The responsibility of the school principal is to the mission. As the majority of the other members of the mission is primarily interested in other lines of work, an incentive for continued school improvement is lacking.

The aim and program of Christian schools are lacking in variety and in direct relationship to the practical needs of their pupils. The comprehensiveness of the secondary education program should be broadened in the interest of those boys and girls who will not go to college and may not finish the high school or even the middle school course. This requires a new type of trained Indian teacher. Training schools of a very distinctive character become most important in any program to achieve such a result.

There is a wide range of qualification among teachers and principals of the schools observed. There is urgent need that the missionary and Indian staff be brought up to the highest possible educational and character standard. A necessary step in achieving this would be substantial increases in the salaries of many Indian teachers. The plant and equipment feature of secondary schools is likewise of unequal adequacy. In many schools, maintenance and housekeeping standards are very low. Few schools have good laboratories or libraries. Agricultural high schools and normal schools, girls' vernacular middle schools and normal schools and vocational middle schools, are few in number, although some of them are excellent in quality.

There is a need to find ways whereby trained teachers and school vacancies on the field can be fitted together. Only properly qualified teachers should be appointed. The policy of filling vacancies by selection only from the ranks of the particular mission responsible for the schools is most unfortunate. The staff of each school should be adequate, so that teachers need not be overworked nor continuity of program interrupted by missionary furloughs. The time has arrived in some sections, and is rapidly approaching in others, for the staff and management of Christian secondary schools to be completely Indianized.

A careful study and revision of the program of religious education should be made, to the end that religious education should be so well conducted as to be one of the most popular and effective features in the life of the school, calling for initiative and creative activity on the part of the teacher, and stimulating the development of well-rounded Christian character in the student.

III

NOTICEABLE TRENDS

The most significant thing about any enterprise for helping others is not what it has accomplished in the past, but the temper and degree of adaptation to the changing currents of progress. Emerging from the back eddies, several mission educational enterprises are gaining the main current of modern advance.

Indianization is illustrated by the fact that, from 1922 to 1927, while the total number of foreign missionaries in India showed an increase of 8 per cent., the number of missionaries engaged in education was reduced by 12.5 per cent. in the case of men, and 2.5 per cent. in the case of women.

In the period from 1925 to 1930 in Madras Presidency, which accounts for 7,000 of the 12,000 recognized mission schools, the number of boys' aided elementary mission schools and the number of their pupils increased at a little more than half the rate of non-mission schools and their pupils. (The relative increase in girls' non-mission schools was much greater.) As a consequence of this development, mission schools and Government schools are often in competition.

The Marathi Mission conducted an education survey of its own work in 1930 and adopted the recommendation that "when a mission school and a local board school are operating in the same village, the mission school must consider most carefully its reason for being."

The following quotations from the "Hartog Report"* indicate certain general trends which missions should note:

"Tables show that in the last ten years there has been rapid growth in the volume of education as measured by numbers of institutions and pupils, and that this growth is becoming more rapid. In 1920 and 1921, the non-coöperation movement caused a serious set-back which is reflected in the figures for 1922, but expansion in the next five years was greater than in any preceding period. While between 1917 and 1922 the number of pupils in all institutions increased by approximately half a million, between 1922 and 1927 the number increased by nearly three millions. . . .

"Since nearly three million pupils were added between 1922 and 1927, it is probable that if no financial or other checks come into

* *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, pp. 29, 30, 37, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81.

operation four or five millions more will be added between 1927 and 1932.

"Corresponding to the increase in the number of pupils there has been an increase in the total expenditure on education during the past ten years of over 13 crores,* the expenditure on primary schools increasing by over 4 crores, on secondary schools by over 3½ crores and on universities and arts and professional colleges by over 1½ crores. The rapidity with which the total expenditure on education has grown in recent years can be illustrated by the fact that the total expenditure from Government funds during the year 1926-27 was larger than the total expenditure from all sources in 1916-17, and that Government funds alone contributed 204.7 per cent. more in 1927 than in 1917.

"It is a fair inference from the figures of expenditure that the interest in education is not merely theoretical but practical; and that the country is now prepared to an increasing extent to make sacrifices for the cause of education.

"Concurrently with the numerical expansion there has been a slow, but steady, break-down of the obstacles that stood in the way of the spread of education. The conservative and orthodox prejudices against education are not nearly so strong as they were a generation ago. The active opposition to the spread of education which existed among several classes of the community has largely disappeared, although apathy and indifference still persist. . . .

"In India, more than in most countries, the general economic position of the villager is unfavorable to the spread of education or an appreciation of its advantages. If an appeal to him to educate his children is to be successful it must rest on a concerted effort to make the school an instrument of village 'uplift,' economic and social as well as intellectual. . . .

"If the quality of the candidates applying for selection for training is low, so also is the quality of the training. In most provinces, the period of training is too short, the curriculum is narrow and the teaching staff is inadequately qualified. . . .

"It seems to us quite clear that, as matters stand in India, effective arrangements for training vernacular teachers must, generally speaking, precede the expansion of primary schools; and the training of vernacular teachers itself depends upon a good supply of recruits from the middle vernacular schools. Hence money spent on expansion and improvement of middle vernacular schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful

* A crore is Rs.10,000,000.

return than money spent on almost any other of the many objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist. . . .

"In several provinces, refresher courses are held at the training schools; and teachers' meetings and conferences form an essential part of the programme of an inspector's visit to any locality. In the Punjab, the teachers' meetings are not confined to educational discussions, but their activities include functions such as the institution of teachers' thrift societies and rural games associations. Healthy amusement and recreation are also a valuable feature of these gatherings.

"The ultimate object of all steps taken to improve the provision and organization of the schools is of course the improvement of the work actually done. There are welcome signs that attempts are being made in most provinces to review the curricula of vernacular schools so as to bring them and the methods of teaching into greater harmony with the needs and conditions of village children. . . . We therefore feel strongly that the aim of every village school should include not merely the attainment of literacy, but the larger objective, namely, the raising of the standard of village life in all its aspects. A well-attended school directly related to the surrounding conditions can do much towards training the younger generation in ways of hygiene, physical culture, improved sanitation, thrift and self-reliance. . . . With the present standards of teaching, buildings and equipment, progress in these directions must necessarily be slow; but the recent revision of training and school courses and the objective aimed at in the Punjab have demonstrated how far a determined policy can succeed. . . .

"In Bengal, fifteen schools have recently been selected for the experiment of agricultural teaching on the lines developed by the Punjab. Similarly, in the United Provinces, about twenty district boards have begun to experiment with agricultural classes attached to middle vernacular schools. Several missionary institutions in the various provinces have also adopted a curriculum and methods of instruction similar to those in use at Moga in the Punjab. . . .

"During the past few years there has been a growing feeling that the village school should not be regarded merely as a place in which the village schoolmaster teaches, and the village children learn, the elements of literacy, but that the schoolmaster and the school should become the main centres of village life."

Pioneering by missionaries is not a new thing in India, although too many of them engaged in educational work follow the groove

instead of the gleam; there is also the seductive peril that the experiments of other missions may be taken as "patterns" rather than as suggestions.

Without attempting to name and comment on many schools which illustrate wholesome modern trends, it will be suggestive to call attention to a few, not more significant than some others which are not named; neither should such a selection be regarded as wholesale approval.

Progressive educational procedure obtains in such schools as: The Agricultural Training School, Moga, Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Harper; Sherman High School for Girls at Chittoor, Miss Alice Van Doren, principal; The Girls' Industrial School and The Women's Training School, Ongole, Miss S. A. Roberts, principal; The Rang Mahall Boys' Mission High School in Lahore, Mr. K. L. Rallia Ram, headmaster; The Community School, Ushagram (near Asansol), Mr. F. G. Williams, principal; The Dornakal Training School, Dornakal, Bishop of Dornakal.

The Moga School is one of the outstanding mission schools in India.*

At the Sherman High School in Chittoor the girls are housed in cottages. Teachers, including missionaries, live with the boarding-pupils. This school is middle and high—entrance from the fifth standard. Intelligence tests developed by Dr. Mason Alcott are applied in admission. The influence of Miss Van Doren and her work is superlative.

Miss Roberts (home on furlough) has had charge of the Ongole schools for girls for several years; she is a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University, and is largely responsible for the Government syllabus for teacher-training in Madras Presidency; Miss Helen L. Bailey is acting principal during her absence.

The following sentences from field notes give a glimpse of these schools in Ongole:

A wide, leafy compound with a sense of peace and homeliness, and the white columns and verandas of the mission buildings suggest the comfort and simplicity of southern America. There is a large middle school across the road, yet in the compound. About 150 normal-school girls live in little cottages—25 girls each. The garden of several acres was in full bloom,—egg plant, gigantic tomatoes, vegetables of all kinds—cared for by one gardener. Each girl puts in three hours in the cool of the day at garden work. Six merry girls were leaning on the long handle (12 ft. long) of the irrigation pump

* See *Re-Thinking Missions*, pp. 126, 129, 130.

(others waiting for their turn)—a gay and happy exercise when carried on well; with song and rhythm they keep a steady stream of water pouring through the narrow irrigation ditches from end to end of the long garden. Miss Bailey is there “not to destroy, but to fulfill.”

The housekeeping is Indian throughout. A tiny stove and huge chests of various grains, including rice and dahl; split peas, oil, curry, onions, condiments, salt. Every family of twenty-five has a chairman who, during her days as mother, buys the food, manages the cooking, which is done, just as it would be at home, by the girls themselves.

A touch of perfection ran through all the class-room work. The beauty of the hand-drawn charts, the neat work, the careful drawings invited admiration; eclipses of the sun, monsoons, eye muscles, the inner ear, the vital organs, were among the wonderful things that covered the walls.

One cabinet was filled with large cardboard sheets covered with magazine pictures. One, labeled “Transportation,” had vehicles of all kinds from ox-carts to zeppelins; another, “Foreign Affairs,” had pictures from Mussolini to Gandhi.

All kinds of globes had been invented, from a tiny five-cent rubber ball attached to a stick with wire, so that it revolved, and beautifully painted till it became a tiny world, to rows of black clay water-jars like those which their mothers carried on their shoulders; on these latter, upside down (their mouths making perfect bases) the continents and oceans were painted with grandeur of color—from arctic white poles to deepest blue ocean—and from magnificent depth of green tropics to golden arid desert. It was the instinctively faultless sense of color of their race that made this work so noble. Out in a field a thirty-foot-wide map was made by carefully cutting out the turf, leaving dry dirt for water and grass for continents. One could stand on New England, looking down into Florida; or on Nova Scotia; or on little Rocky Mountains built up with jagged rocks.

But this is not all. Bookbinding is done by the girls; great cupboards of their next year’s notebooks, reading-books, arithmetics, etc., stand ready; little paper-covered reading-books had been made permanent by canvas binding; weaving of *khaddar* is done; girls weave their own *saris*. All life is part of their day’s work.

In the evening when the work is done, Miss Bailey slips out with her little Indian drum to join the group of girls who make the rhythm for the dances. A circle forms in front of the little cottages and various village dances of wonderful beauty bring pure enjoyment

and refreshment. There is the "Mother-in-Law" dance, with the hauteur on her part and the ingratiating effort of the young bride; and the snake-charmer's dance, where a glorious young girl like a dainty gypsy, hooking up her *sari* (till her delicate brown legs were bare) and swathing it with infinite grace around her lithe young self, took its tip between her teeth; then, crouching, she held her twisted *sari* out as if it were a snake and she danced and danced and danced,—ever crouching lower and lower until her head with the *sari* tip in her teeth just brushed the ground.

The building occupied by the Rang Mahall High School for Boys, —the name Rang Mahall meaning "Palace of Colours,"—is situated in the heart of old Lahore. This building, acquired from the Government in 1849, has been remodeled and enlarged, and now contains over thirty rooms. There is a science-room, a reading-room or library, a large assembly-hall, and two small courtyards.

Field notes on a visit to this school are as follows: Within the Gates! A shabby entrance! But a big place once you get within: about 600 boys of all kinds: 35 Brahmins, 188 "Near-Brahmins," 40 Sikhs, 310 Mohammedans, and 46 Christians, with 28 teachers, 18 of whom were Christians. A courtyard with marching boys was my first glimpse. Then a fine-faced American was introduced to me and we made the rounds of the classes. The place was full of life, and good teaching everywhere; good maps, made by the classes; good pictures; interesting history lessons with a teacher holding the full attention of his classes, and Indian history, too, not too much borrowing from the battles and courts of other countries. We found ourselves finally in the huge Montessori room, but even there it was not slavish Montessori. Then we sat down and had a good talk. My American was an unusual person, a person capable of deeply appreciating and upholding another of another race. He told me with quiet pride of how Rallia Ram came in day after day with new ideas—one day he would say, "The babies must have a rest-room to which they can slip off whenever they feel like it,"—and sure enough, there I could see occasional little tots trudging up a tiny flight of steps into a room with comfortable beds, the floor of which was only four or five feet above the big class-room. Or Rallia Ram would say, "I have a new idea for the teaching of reading, and then to his library would be added many stories that any boy would like to read—Capt. Marryat's tales, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, *Peter Pan*, Hawthorne's books, sixty paper-covered copies of each, not complete, but enough to give the story well. Then his boys would go sixty strong to the library. Each

would have his own book, and after reading it to himself there would be a great discussion and story-telling about it all.

The Ushagram Community School, under alert and exceptionally trained leadership, is a striking and significant experiment.*

The simple, practical village system of schools, in the diocese of the Bishop of Dornakal, is a fine illustration of completely Indianized educational efforts—not excluding positive religious influence. Among the wisest leaders in rural matters is Bishop V. S. Azariah, the great Indian Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Dornakal. A visit to Bishop Azariah's Vernacular Middle and Normal School, and a trip through the outlying villages with its principal, Mr. Joseph, and his wife, was a stirring experience. The school consists of simple buildings in the midst of a great plain, with mountains floating in the distance. The chapel had the sincerity and stark nobility of some of the early Spanish missions in California.

The school farm is run by the students and provides much of the food for this large family,—150 normal students, 225 boys, and 25 teachers. All the studies prescribed by Government for high and normal schools are taught, but added to this they have first-rate training in four vocational industries,—agriculture, weaving, carpentry and leather-work. Each student must choose one of these four and must stick to it for four years. Mr. Joseph explained to us that industrial education, added to a literary and scientific one, is good for both teachers and preachers, when they return to the villages.

The Bishop of Dornakal writes,** “Missions have in the past undertaken the elementary education of the Christian children, not in the interests of the people, but in the interests of the mission itself; that is, not primarily for the uplift of the people, but primarily for the manufacture of ‘mission workers.’ Hence the scope of the education was restricted; a literary education was all that was given; the ambition of the pupils was limited; they only aimed at becoming village schoolmasters and schoolmistresses; the equipment of the village teacher was scanty, and his usefulness was therefore limited, too. In very many cases he neither knew how to serve the village community nor did he care for village life.

Thanks to the Fraser Commission on village education, experiments are now being made in most rural missions to rectify these evils. Vocational schools and industrial schools are included in all programs of advance. The institutions, however, suffer for lack of

* See Chapter on “Industry,” this Volume.

** *The Christian Task in India*, edited by John Mackenzie, pp. 37-41.

men and money. Rural India cries for reconstruction. Friends of rural India are in demand, with special knowledge of things vital to rural life. A new type of village school, a new type of village teacher and a new type of training school are the crying needs of the hour. . . .

Serious attempts should be made from the initial stages to make the converts build their own places of worship and their own village schools. All Oriental nations have a passion for temple-building. Indian Christians are not free from it. This passion should be fostered and the people ought to be encouraged to build a place of worship—plain or ornamental, cheap or expensive—something which they can call their own. . . .

Voluntary clergy, voluntary lay evangelists, voluntary lay catechists and the like need to be courageously instituted. The paid system, universally in vogue in missions, is not native to the country; and it must be discouraged. Our new vocational schools ought to aid in this direction. The ambition to serve the Lord "without charge" must be inculcated in boys who learn a trade, so that when they go back to their villages they may honorarily undertake the responsibility for the local congregations. Village elders, too, ought to be encouraged to learn to read and to teach, so that they may lead the worship and instruction in the village of which they are the natural leaders. . . . The discouragement of the paid agency and the encouragement of the voluntary ministry ought to be the vigorous aim of all rural missions.

The separation of the village school from congregational work is another much-needed reform. The great bulk of mission agency now consists of teacher-evangelists, who are responsible for both the village school and the village congregation. The separation of these two functions might necessitate the closing of many inefficient little schools. It might also stop the employment of men to conduct the daily and Sunday services in each village chapel. But both these consequences would be wholly beneficial. The former would result in fewer but efficient and well-attended schools, and throw the burden of the education of the masses more upon the State; the latter would develop voluntary lay leadership. . . .

The important rule in all rural work is Teach, TEACH, TEACH. Daily services, carefully planned lectionary, the use of song, verse and plays as means of instruction, distribution of literature—all these are indispensable means of increasing in the people knowledge of divine things."

IV

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MISSION EDUCATION

1. *Education in these schools might well make more use of the old traditions of Indian family life.*

In boarding schools, we would particularly urge respect for the home customs of the pupils. By Westernizing their clothes, methods of eating and daily habits our education may result in alienating them from the environment of their own families.

Schools should endeavor to preserve for the children who have come under their care, and utilize for their development, their Indian heritage of song, art, drama, dance and story. This heritage includes their custom of chanting stories instead of singing them, and of chanting the multiplication tables (both 500-year-old customs) far beyond the 12 x 12 at which the Western tradition stops, and an equally old custom of uncommonly fine design work,—floor patterns put down in chalk on Indian feast days. These things have educational value and are used in the schools of the native states of Travancore, Mysore and others. A good teacher begins with the child's experience and is alert, ardent, resourceful, understandingly sympathetic.

2. *There should be additional ways of spreading from school to school throughout India the knowledge of educational methods and the results of experiment.*

In view of the fact that there are some outstanding schools of distinctive educational value, while many of the mission schools are very ordinary, each mission should assume the responsibility of seeing that each of its schools has the amplest opportunity to benefit by the thought and work of other schools.

Every assistance that can be given to teaching women missionaries to take part in such national movements as the Women's All-India Conference, should be eagerly given. It is in such meetings as this that the forward-looking women of all classes and religions in the country meet, discuss and foresee the future of Indian education.

A series of books edited by Miss Van Doren,—a travelling Normal School,—provides, at one rupee each, such books as *How we Learn*, by William Kirkpatrick, *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education* and *Projects in Indian Education*, and should be extensively utilized.

The simplicity of this way of exchanging experiences and stimulating thought, across the wide stretches of India, shows how much can be done for education if only we have at the center an understanding mind. No expensive equipment is required. Each teacher pays for his own book, and one can picture a growing shelf of these invaluable experiments as educational ingenuity increases year by year.

3. *The teaching staff of the schools should be Indianized as rapidly as possible without detriment to the educational effectiveness.*

The outstanding quality of the educational work of many Indians—Christian and non-Christian—in mission and Government schools should answer any doubters on this score. The Government has Indianized its schools more rapidly and completely than the missions.

The Indianization of mission schools would be promoted if there were an agency for registering qualified Indian Christian teachers at Delhi or Nagpur, to which schools in need of Indian teachers could turn. There would naturally be sub-offices for each of the major language areas. Nagpur might be thought of as an appropriate center, on account of the presence of the National Christian Council. Delhi, on the other hand, is rich educationally and has several unusually strong Christian leaders in both Government and mission colleges. The field of choice for qualified teachers would be greatly increased if denominational divisions could be disregarded.

The disparities of salary and household provision between Indian and non-Indian teachers of equal ability, in the same institution, should be lessened. The salaries of Indians in mission schools should approximate more nearly the salaries of their American colleagues whose responsibilities are equal.*

4. *Mission schools need, especially, supervision.*

City day mission schools which cannot provide a full-time person, as principal, would better turn their children over to the Government schools. Sometimes the principal of a large city school with 200 or 300 pupils is the harassed wife of a missionary, no one of whose other duties is lightened because of her principalship.

Large city mission schools for boys should exact of themselves the same requirement that is exacted by Government, namely, that the principal of a school shall be a trained teacher. In America we grant a teacher's certificate only to students of education. In India, an American who has had a course in theology is too often assumed to be sufficiently prepared for teaching or for becoming a principal.

* See *Re-Thinking Missions*, pp. 295, 296.

Christian schools in villages, with their isolation and their teachers' salaries of \$5 and \$10 a year, are particularly in need of the occasional regular supervision of an expert teacher. Unless a mission has sufficient money for such supervision, it has not sufficient money to provide village education.

5. *Where the missions are conducting elementary schools, the aim of these schools should be primarily education, and not evangelization.*

Education is not complete which neglects the moral and religious aspects of human nature. But there are three principles which affect the place of these interests in the activities of the elementary school. First, a teacher cannot help communicating to children any genuine religious and moral life he possesses, without the effort to make it a separate subject of instruction. Second, a teacher cannot by verbal instruction communicate any moral or religious life which he does not have, or has in feeble degree; but may do untold damage by a mechanized and external sort of instruction in these vital and intimate concerns. Third, the home and the religious society are the normal sources of early guidance in these matters; and while the peculiar situation of the mission school makes it impossible to rely fully upon the home, its sensitive relations to the homes of its students of varied religions require of it a high degree of reticence in everything that touches the points of difference among the various faiths concerned.

This leaves open to the school such appeal to the elements of religious faith as are basic to the several great religions and such application of ethical principles as may prove desirable in building the characters of the students. Direct text-book or class-room instruction in these matters, on a plane with the instruction in grammar or arithmetic, is in any case of limited value. But the school is a part of life, and has its own duties, which afford abundant opportunity for illustrating the meaning of the religious life to the full extent of its apprehension by the teacher.

The "morning exercise" of the elementary school should be carried out in the spirit, not of teaching doctrine, but of enlisting the spontaneous religious interest of all the students and of heightening it, without arousing contention.

In a school where the pupils are of various religions, daily Bible study and chapel services should be on a voluntary basis. These should be carried out by religious persons whose quality would insure their being nobly done.

The mission schools should coöperate in good faith with the Gov-

ernment, in its effort (through various conscience clauses) to protect the religious liberty of its citizens. This is not always done. If any other reason for this scruple were needed than the principle of religious liberty itself, and the fact that the schools, if they are looked at as proselytizing agencies, will lose their appeal to the Indian public, we may remind ourselves of the sources from which the mission schools derive their financial support. According to Littlehailes' report, which averages the missions of all India, 86 per cent. of the total annual cost of these schools comes from Indian sources (Government grants and tuition) and only 14 per cent. from missions.*

6. Certain already existing pieces of mission work that should be retained, and the number increased:

Girls' schools,—particularly girls' boarding-schools. About 50 per cent. of the girls' schools in India are being carried on by Christian missions. This shows that they are still doing pioneering work in this field. The pupils of these schools are 69 per cent. Christian.

Country boarding-schools for boys or girls are for the education of second generation depressed classes, the children of village Christians. These are run simply, the children doing most of the work. Often they have a very beautiful and homelike atmosphere. Training in trades is given, as well as class-room work, so that each child leaves the institution better equipped for self-support.

7. Certain existing pieces of mission work that might well be diminished:

City schools, especially boys' schools in places where the Government schools are strong and where the children are predominantly non-Christian.

Missions should not duplicate or compete with work already successfully established. They should free themselves wherever possible for pioneering work. That is the kind of work which was their original genius.

8. Pioneering work is most needed in India.

Owing to the low grade of the teachers, many village primary schools paid for by the mission are, educationally, almost worthless.**

* Most of this section (5) carries suggestions especially pertinent to conditions in Burma.

** The number of mission primary schools, Catholic and Protestant, is listed at 11,158. In cities these schools are parts of high or middle schools, and rank according to the quality of the schools to which they are attached. In the country they are largely unsupervised units, carried on by incompetent teachers. Is it to be wondered at that

Greater good would be done if half of these schools were closed, and the money put into training vernacular teachers who could really teach the other half.

Vernacular middle and normal schools, with an agricultural bias, are the next step. "A new type of village school, a new type of village teacher and a new type of training-school are the needs of the hour." Examples have been cited.

Pioneering work was done by the great missionaries of the past, and in certain fields is carried on by their grandchildren at the present day.

9. Need for greater unity in education.

The Commission of Appraisal has suggested a greater unity among the boards in dealing with the many sides of mission work. If, to a joint meeting of educational representatives of various boards an expert of such international standing and experience as Dr. Paul Monroe was invited as adviser, an effective modern policy of coördination might be devised. Missions, by the adequate training of teachers with an overflowing Christian spirit, could operate such a plan and recover the former preëminence of their schools as pioneers, at a time when India faces a new day.

As other schools of good rank grow up around them, mission schools will more and more be judged by the people of India on the ground of their comparative educational worth. This requires some educational unity and supervision, some report as to educational hollows and heights, and some suggestions as to how to deal with the hollows. Unless this is done, the educational possibilities of missions will diminish year by year, and the betterment of the schools will pass into other hands.

Burma

The whole memory of the mission compounds in Burma is a beautiful one; missionaries were on the field early, and chose excellent locations. The buildings are often built according to the Burmese type of architecture. They are appropriate to the country and are made attractive by rich trees and vegetation.

Some of the Christian converts are among the rarest spirits we met in the East. No member of our Commission could fail to be ennobled spiritually by the meeting of such a woman as Dr. Ma Saw Sa of Rangoon.

Many of the schools—particularly the girls' schools—like Kem-mendine and the others contributed to by the Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Baptist Church, are among the best schools to be found in the East. In both India and Burma these girls' schools seem far in advance of the boys', especially in their general spirit. Women missionaries live more with their pupils. They give their whole time to their task.

The quality of the American women in Burma, who had selected this calling of school-teaching, was unusually high. Their educational training alone was above the average; in any country many of them would have ranked as leaders.

Their task is not easy—particularly in the big city day schools. It is the custom to have but one foreign missionary in a school.* She holds the position of principal. If she has a corps of twenty to thirty *women* teachers under her, her task is not so hard, for these Karen women seem to catch quickly educational suggestions. But if she has, in a school of 500 to 700 pupils, from twenty-five to thirty-five Karen *men* teachers, her task is less enviable.

Their religion is more to them than a religious matter. It is religion; but their history has made it also a political question, for, did not the missionaries find them, about a century ago, a despised minority of illiterate hill people, and did they not give them a language of their own, and education, and worldly success, making them the most powerful minority in Burma today—a minority which is pleading in London to be given separate recognition as a Karen nation?

There is a strain of Puritanism in the Karen race, which one feels through their strong and good qualities as well as through their less desirable ones. With the help of the missionaries they have grown self-reliant. They will devote their *all* to education. The self-support of their churches and schools excels throughout the mission fields of the world. And yet their quality of literalness and verbalism makes one start at the ideas of religion taught in some of their Christian class-rooms.

Much that has been said about mission education in India might also be said about the Christian schools in Burma.

There are several points of difference, however, such as race, religion and history, which affect Christian primary and secondary education. The Burman, proud and patriotic, is usually Buddhist.

* In girls' boarding-schools there are usually several American teachers.

The Karens, once a backward hill tribe, have become Christian in large numbers. The beginnings of the Western political control are comparatively recent. The missionary movement has been ardently evangelistic, even in its class-room procedure. With the rise of nationalism, the Burman, especially, and naturally enough, wanted his own vernacular used in the schools, and his traditional religion recognized—at least to the extent of having his children in mission schools excused from compulsory Christian instruction.

After the World War there was a strike of students which started in a Christian high school and swept through the country. The students demanded that more “national” schools should be provided for them, and also that the teaching of religion should be a voluntary subject throughout the school system. This strike resulted in the building of many “national” schools, some of them very attractive structures, and providing modern education. In 1923 there were ninety such national schools, with 14,000 pupils.

There are both vernacular and English high schools in Burma, and owing to the increasing national movement there is a demand for the vernacular as the medium of instruction in *all* schools, with English taught as a foreign language.

Of the 1,249 middle schools (in 1930) there were 1,059 vernacular schools and 190 English middle schools. National feeling has aroused the people to insist on their vernacular, but has not yet aroused them to making education fit the actual needs of life in Burma.

The spirit of protest indicated by this students' strike might have been allayed by clearer vision on the part of the mission-school leaders. Part of the trouble lay in the fact that the greater number of Christian teachers are Karens whom the missionaries in the early part of the nineteenth century found oppressed by the Burmans, and who were lifted into education and success by these missionaries. In 1921 there were 178,225 Karen Christians, and only 15,381 Burmese Christians. Both Karens and Anglo-Indians feel alienated from the Burmese, who constitute 70 per cent. of the people. It would have been hard to lead these two groups (Karens and Burmans) toward greater mutual consideration, even had the missionaries been less reluctant in meeting the nationalist mood. Even last year, in 1932, provision for carrying out this Conscience Clause was made grudgingly.*

The Baptist school at Pyinmana (agricultural) has broken away

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, L. B. Sipple, *in loco*.

from the stereotyped requirements, and has adapted its curriculum to the living situation of this rural country.

Mr. Brayton C. Case, its founder, is a resourceful agriculturalist, and an organizer of originality and power. There are over 200 acres of farm land connected with this enterprise. The whole 200 acres are under cultivation. For the first year, each boy is given a small plot of ground, and in it he grows vegetables. The second year he is given a farm project, which he carries through from beginning to end. The third year he has to learn about animals; not only the farm animals, but pests and their control. The fourth year he selects which of these several phases of farm work will be his specialty; and he devotes his whole year to it. Some boys choose chickens, some dairy work, some pigs, some rice, some sugar cane.

It is regrettable that for this agricultural experiment financial support by the Government is uncertain, and that the interest of the mission in this venture seems to be lukewarm. There is so much of revivalistic evangelism that the nationalists are antagonized (nearly all of the pupils in this school are Karen or other hill-tribe boys), and yet, it would seem, not enough of this type of evangelism to satisfy mission leaders!

Owing to the revivalistic, aggressive evangelism of mission schools in Burma, coupled with the race and political antagonisms involved, Christian education faces critical days. It would seem the part of Christian wisdom to anticipate the inevitable and make adjustments in the Christian spirit.*

The use of "Gospel Teams" made up of pupils from secondary schools seems ill-advised. These "Gospel Teams" from the high schools are derived, by imitation, from "Gospel Teams" among college students, which are financed by special gifts from America, and which have made tours in India and Siam.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that, however valuable the element of emotional fervor in the work of evangelism, such activity on the part of adolescent students, especially when often repeated, raises grave questions. Buddhist observers are often offended by the union of religious appeal and vaudeville play. Some Christians believe that the repetition, over and over, of the same testimony places a strain on sincerity. Serious also is the probable effect on village life when interpretations of Christianity by immature minds, tending to sharpen the cleavage between Christian and non-Christian, leave a

* See suggestion 5, Section IV, "The Reconstruction of Mission Education," this chapter.

legacy of division in the community. The stirring of emotion by persons who cannot be responsible for the needed subsequent nurture of character and habit in the village visited is especially to be questioned. The educational influence of this practice is also to be considered. It cannot but interfere with the steady discipline of the class-room; and must therefore tend to bring both Christian education and Christianity itself into disrepute among thoughtful people.

COLLATERAL DATA

Excerpt from "Mission Education in India," Fact-Finders' Reports, India-Burma, L. B. Sipple.

There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. . . . But at the beginning of the 19th Century . . . Indian learning was at low ebb, Western education had not been introduced, and there were hardly any printed books, either in classical languages or the vernacular.¹

SUMMARY OF OFFICIAL EDUCATION POLICY

To correct this lack of learning, the East India Company's Act of 1813 had a clause "which enabled the Governor-General to devote not less than a lakh of rupees (Rs.100,000 or about \$30,000) annually to education." This money was spent "mainly on the teaching of Indian classical languages."

Then two new movements gave impetus to education. The first was the "semi-rationalist" movement emphasizing the teaching of English and led by the great Indian reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and by David Hare, a Calcutta watchmaker, "who in 1816-17, founded a college which led to 'the springing up all over Bengal' of English schools." The second movement was "the Christian missionary movement, which already had (early in the nineteenth century) ramifications in different parts of India, and which has continuously exercised so deep an influence on education in India ever since."

In 1835 Macaulay's famous minute settled the "bitter struggle . . . between the 'Orientalists,' the partisans . . . of teaching through the medium of the classical languages and the 'Anglicists' who wished to teach through the medium of English, on the side of the Anglicists." This famous minute has influenced all subsequent educational policies to the present, though it has been greatly modified from time to time by legal encouragement of vernacular education.

While "there existed in India a tradition of female education going back to early times," in the early part of the nineteenth century "it was still more backward than that of men." (See Miss Woodsmall's report.) It is significant that "the initiative in modern education for women was taken by missionary societies in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. . . . It was supported by Hare and by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In 1824 Lady Amherst consented to be patroness of a society for native female educa-

¹ Auxiliary Committee (Hartog) of the Indian Statutory Commission (Simon), *Review of the Growth of Education in British India*, (1929) Chapter II. A good brief survey of Indian educational policy under British rule down to the reforms (1921) may be found in the above report. The excerpts and summary in this section are taken from it.

tion in Calcutta. The establishment of a girls' school in Calcutta in May, 1849, by J. E. Drinkwater Bethune . . . and his conversion of Lord Dalhousie to his views mark a turning point in the history of women's education in India." Finally, "in April, 1850, Lord Dalhousie informed the Bengal Council of Education that it was henceforward to consider its functions as comprising superintendence of native female education."

The beginning of a new epoch in Indian education came with 1854, preceded by the parliamentary inquiry into the condition of India in 1853. The result of this inquiry was "Sir Charles Wood's epoch-making dispatch of 1854." Prior to this the East India Company had "regarded a direct attack on the problem of mass education an impossibility." It had adopted the "filtration theory" of education and had "thought that the only means of reaching the masses was by educating the literary classes who were comparatively few in number, and letting education 'filter down' through them." This theory ignored "the vast obstacles to such 'filtration' arising out of Indian class and caste distinctions. . . . The dispatch of 1854 first imposed upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education from primary school to the university."

The dispatch prescribed the following measures:

"(1) the constitution in each presidency . . . of a separate department for the administration of education; (2) universities in the presidency towns; (3) institutions for the training of teachers for all classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of existing Government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number where necessary; (5) increased attention to vernacular schools; (6) and the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid."

It is along these lines that education in India has developed to the present, including female education, Mohammedan education, and religious neutrality.

Perhaps the weakness of the dispatch of 1854 was its failure to emphasize primary education. "The years immediately subsequent to 1854 witnessed" the implementing of the dispatch and "far greater interest was taken in the promotion of secondary education than of primary." However, in 1859 the secretary of State "advocated the adoption of further steps for the promotion of primary education."

In 1882 an educational commission resulted in subsequent acts which extended primary education, developed the grant-in-aid system, and stimulated private enterprise.

Since 1882 there has been a series of Government commissions, Government resolutions and laws dealing with many phases of education. Lord Curzon summoned an educational conference in 1901, which was followed by the "Indian Universities Commission" in 1902, the publication of a "Resolution on Indian Educational Policy" in 1904, and an "Indian Universities Act" in the same year. These dealt with "primary education"; advocated for secondary education "varied curricula and study of the vernaculars" and "school-final examinations"; advocated "extension of facilities for training teachers"; and "endorsed the view

that 'through female education a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men.'"

It was recognized from the first that education should "devolve," that is, be taken over by local governments and by private interests but with Government aid and regulations. This policy has been carried out. The provinces have been encouraged to set up well-organized departments of education with liberal grants from the national Government. The culmination of this devolution came in 1920 when under the reforms "education became a 'transferred' subject, confined almost entirely to the care of the provinces."

The movement toward compulsory primary education remains to be mentioned. In 1911 Gokhale introduced a bill into the Imperial Legislative Council making compulsory primary education permissive. The Government opposed this chiefly on the grounds that "there had been no popular demand for the measure." The movement has grown until at present all the provinces in India have by legislation "indicated their acceptance of the principle of compulsion."² Only lack of finances prevents the widespread application of the principle. In fact, many urban areas are now applying it, and it is being applied in rural areas in the Punjab.³

Bengal by its Primary Education Act of 1930 has provided, by a small *cess* (tax), for the gradual introduction of compulsion throughout the rural areas of the province beginning in 1931-32.

This general official policy is criticized by both Indians and British on several counts, the chief of which is that the system has emphasized the training of the directing classes and neglected the education of the masses, or that it is top-heavy. These critics point to the 90 per cent. illiteracy in India as evidence. Other criticisms are that the curriculum is academic or literary rather than practical and vocational, and that the examination system stifles initiative and makes procedure in the schoolroom formal and pedantic. There is an increasing demand that schools should contribute more definitely to the solution of the problem of literacy of the people, and to the problem of the continuing decline of the economic condition of the people, and to the increasing pressure of the population on the land. There is also a demand that more emphasis be placed on the education of girls and women to correct the disparity between the literacy of women, which is less than 2 per cent., and that of men, which is about 11 per cent.

This, in brief, has been the development of the educational system as we find it in India today; the system which missions have aided in no small way to develop. It is against this background that mission educational work today is projected.

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

Extracts from the *Educational Codes* of the several provinces in British India dealing with the Conscience Clause. The Central Provinces do not

² *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

seem to have such a clause, but this was not verified. These extracts were made for Mr. L. B. Sipple of the Fact-Finding Research Staff, by Mr. R. Littlehales, G.I.E., M.A., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

Extract from the Madras Educational Rules, sixth edition

9. The following instructions shall be observed in imparting religious instruction in schools and colleges under public management:—

(1) Institutions under public management should not be used as a means of fostering any one religion at the expense of others and the principle of strict religious neutrality should be maintained.

(2) Public funds should not be utilized for imparting religious instruction.

(3) If without infringing the above conditions it is proposed to introduce religious instruction in a school under the management of a local body, a resolution approving the same should be passed by a majority of the members of the local body.

(4) Religious instruction may be imparted both in boys' and girls' schools.

(5) The school premises may be utilized for religious teaching or simple prayers. There is however no need to reserve one or two rooms specially for the purpose.

(6) Any time spent by a pupil or student on religious teaching or observance will be deducted from the prescribed curriculum period.

(7) The instruction will always take place either at the beginning or at the end of a school session, that is to say, immediately before the morning session or immediately after the morning session or immediately before the afternoon session or immediately after the afternoon session.

(8) The services of the teachers in an institution, where they voluntarily undertake the work of religious instruction, shall preferably be utilized. The services of voluntary teachers from outside may be utilized if competent teachers are not available in the institution itself. The selection of such outsiders should be approved by the chairman or president of the local body maintaining the institution.

(9) No pupil shall be permitted to attend any form of religious instruction or observance without the written request of the guardian or parent, which request should be made in writing and will be in force until revoked.

(10) The imparting of moral instruction according to the syllabus approved by Government shall be compulsory in the fourth, fifth and sixth forms of all Government and recognized secondary schools for boys and girls.

Extract from the Educational Code of the Bombay Government

Educational Department, Bombay Castle, 8th June 1923, No. 2409—Government are pleased to direct that the following rule should be entered in Chapter I of the revised Grant-in-aid Code published in Government Notification No. 261, dated the 11th February 1911:— "Rule 4-A. No grant-in-aid will be paid to any school or college maintained by a particular religious community which, (a) being the only school

or college of its class in the locality, and (b) admitting pupils of other religious communities, makes attendance at instruction in its own religion a condition of the admission of such pupils."

Educational Department, Bombay Castle, 21st May 1924. No. 2409—With reference to Government Notification No. 2400 dated 8th June 1923, Government are pleased to direct that the following Explanation should be inserted below Rule 4-2 in Chapter I of the Grant-in-aid Code published in Government notification No. 261, dated the 11th February 1911: "Explanation—This rule does not preclude an aided school or college maintained by a particular religious community from enforcing attendance of pupils of other religious communities at instruction in its own religion provided that (1) the written consent of the parents or guardians of the pupils is first obtained and (2) no discrimination is made against pupils whose parents or guardians are not willing to give such consent."

*Extract from Rules and Orders of the Education Department,
Bengal, 5th Edition, Chapter III—Schools*

50. It should be remembered, however, that moral instruction must not go beyond its sphere, and should in no way affect the social and religious ideas of the students generally.

64. (ii)—Conditions attached to grants. (1) Grants are given on the principle of strict religious neutrality, and no preference shall be shown to any school on the ground that any particular religious doctrines are taught or are not taught therein.

I.—D.P. Is Circular No. 1, dated January 9, 1917. *Closing of schools for one hour on Fridays for Juma prayer.*

103. In order to enable Moslems attending Government schools to perform their Juma prayer it has been decided that:—(a) the school shall be closed for the half-holiday on Fridays instead of on Saturdays. In this case schools would close on Fridays at 12:30 p.m., or (b) work shall be suspended for one hour on Fridays (instead of for half-an-hour as on other days of the week).

*Extract from the Educational Code of the United Province of
Agra and Oudh, 1927*

89. Religious Instruction may be imparted in Government English schools and Intermediate Colleges outside the regular hours of secular instruction, subject to the following conditions:—(a) The head of the institution should set apart two half hours in the week for religious instruction to boys whose parents wish them to receive it: provided that the parents can agree to the appointment of an instructor, and there is a classroom in the school available for the purpose. (b) The appointment of a religious instructor is subject to the approval of the School Committee referred to in paragraph 124. The remuneration of the religious instructor must be arranged by the community desiring to employ him, and the question of paying the cost in whole or in part out of fees for religious instruction is left entirely to the community. (c) The religious instructor will keep up a register of attendance open to inspection by the head of the institution, and may report for punishment boys who play

truant. (d) The community will conduct all examinations in religious knowledge. The results may be communicated to the head of the institution, and may be read out by him at the annual prize-giving when any prizes which the community may propose to award for proficiency in religious knowledge will be awarded by a representative of that community. Otherwise the head of the institution will have no concern whatever with the progress in religious knowledge of any scholar. (e) No master on the school or college establishment may be engaged as religious instructor. But the religious instructor will be under the control of the head of the institution. (f) The community concerned will be responsible for making arrangements which will be agreeable to the general public. The arrangements shall be subject to the approval of the head of the institution. (g) It is optional with parents to have religious instruction given to their children. Any parent desirous of having a boy instructed in religion will signify his wish in writing to the head of the institution, who will then give the boy permission to attend the class.

90. (a) Aided educational institutions are at liberty to impart religious instruction, provided that:—(1) no one shall be compelled to attend any religious instruction or observance in a faith other than his own as a condition of his admission into or continuance in an aided educational institution or hostel attached thereto if he, or his parent or guardian if he is a minor, objects to it and informs the authorities of the institution of his objection in writing. (2) the time or times during which any religious observance is practised or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of an aided educational institution shall be in the beginning or at the end or at the beginning and end of such meeting. Note: Exemption from religious instruction or observance shall take effect from the commencement of a school or college term. Applications for exemption should, therefore, be made at the commencement of a term. But with the sanction of the headmaster or Principal, exemption may take effect at any time during the currency of a term.

(b) Unaided English institutions are at liberty to make their own arrangements, but the time devoted to religious instruction should be kept entirely separate from that which is required for secular instruction.

Extract from the Punjab Education Code, eleventh edition

37. Religious Instruction: Religious instruction shall not be given in Government or board schools except out of school hours, and then only at the express request of the parents or guardians concerned. No teacher employed in a Government or board school shall be required to give such instruction without his consent, and no charge on account of religious instruction shall be paid from public funds.

*Extract from the Manual of Vernacular Educational Rules.
(2nd Edition) of the Educational Department, Burma*

16. Schedule I, Chapter VIII, Rule 10, City of Rangoon Municipal Act, Chapter II, Rule 10, Burma Rural Self Government Rules. *Conscience Clause*: It shall not be required as a condition of the admission or retention of any pupil that he shall attend or abstain from attending any

religious observance or instruction, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parents or guardian, attend the school on any day set apart for religious observance by the body to which his parents or guardian belong; and no pupil shall be compelled to attend school on the recognized holidays of his religion included in the list of gazetted holidays.

Note: Daily religious instruction should however be provided in all schools under Buddhist lay managers.

Extract from the Bihar and Orissa Education Code, 1925

17. Strict religious neutrality shall be maintained in board schools.

18. Grants-in-aid shall be given on the principle of strict religious neutrality, and no preference shall be shown to any school on the ground that any particular religious doctrines are taught or not taught therein.

19. In areas where the only school is one in which religious instruction is given, the grant-in-aid will be subject to the condition that such instruction shall not be compulsory for pupils who profess other religions than that in which such instruction is given and whose parents or guardians wish them to be exempted.

189. Government Resolution No. 3268-E., dated the 5th December 1925. In Government and non-denominational schools- religious instruction should be given within school hours for two periods a week, ordinarily by members of the school staff selected by the Headmaster, but also, if necessary, by honorary teachers approved by the Headmaster. The choice of textbooks should be left to the religious teacher. All pupils should be required to attend the religious instruction provided for their particular community unless their parents desire them to be exempted. If examinations in the subject are held, the school authorities as such should have no concern with them. Facilities as regards both time and place should be given to the various religious communities for the singing of religious hymns and the saying in congregation of the prayers that fall within school hours. Unaided schools exercise their own discretion as regards giving religious instruction. Denominational schools make their own arrangements for such instruction, but they should afford facilities to boys of other religions to offer their prayers in mosques or temples. Direct moral instruction need not be given in schools in which religious instruction has been introduced.

Extract from the Rules and Orders of the Assam Education Department—Chapter VII—Islamic Instruction

3. Instruction will be optional and will conform to an approved curriculum. It will be given outside school hours for not less than forty-five minutes nor more than one hour.

53. Religious instruction in Mohammedan hostels:

1. The Superintendents of Hostels will be expected to influence the boys under their charge to the daily performance of Namaz. But no compulsion must be exercised. A room in the hostel should, if possible, be set apart for the purpose.

2. Prayer rooms may be provided in Government Hostels by private liberality, the contributions being handed over to Government for disposal.

3. Prayer rooms constructed as in (2) above will form part of the hostel building and will belong to Government, the contributors or the general public acquiring no right or interest in them.

54. Facilities for Juma prayers: In order to enable Mohammedans attending Government Colleges and schools to perform their Juma prayers work shall be suspended in Government colleges for an hour about midday on Fridays. In Government schools the Managing Committee shall decide whether:—(a) the school shall be closed for its weekly half holiday on Fridays instead of Saturdays. In this case schools would close on Fridays at 12:30 p.m.; or (b) work shall be suspended for one hour on Fridays (instead of for half-an-hour as on other days of the week).

Extract from the Baluchistan Education Code, 1909

316. Section E—Miscellaneous Rules: No religious instruction shall be given in any public school maintained entirely from public funds except with the special sanction of the Political Agent. In no case shall any teacher employed in a Government or Board School be required to give religious instruction without his consent; nor shall any charge on account of religious instruction in boys' schools be paid from public funds.

Extract from the Education Code of the North West Frontier Province

165. Religious instruction may be given in Government Board Schools on the following conditions: (i) The time devoted to such instruction shall not exceed one period daily out of school hours. (ii) The instruction shall be given by a teacher or teachers selected by the parents who desire such instruction for their children. In Government schools such instruction shall not be given by a member of the staff. (iii) No pupil shall be required to attend during the period of religious instruction unless his parents have expressed a wish that he should do so. (iv) No charge on account of religious instruction shall be paid from public funds. The question of charging fees for such instruction is left entirely to the community desiring it.

N.B. Rule (i) may be interpreted to mean that religious instruction may be imparted within school hours for one period daily provided always that the school working day is lengthened by the addition of the period given to religious instruction.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION
IN INDIA AND BURMA

INTRODUCTION

THE cumulative situation in India has brought Western educational efforts under closer review. India's resolute self-appraisal has stimulated a fresh study of her ancient culture and schools, a penetrating scrutiny of Occidental educational policies, the establishment of indigenous institutions and a challenge to Western educators involved in her welfare to recast their procedure.

The surge of nationalism, the mounting desire for academic degrees, the bolder interest in a scientific world-view, the problem of the recognition and function of religion in college and university experience, the objective, as viewed by the student, of academic training and the higher standards required by Government, have intensified the problems of mission colleges.

Within recent years many studies have been made by Western educators, notably Montagu-Chelmsford, Mayhew, the Hartog Committee and the Commission on Christian Higher Education, which have been our guides. We envisage our task as an effort (1) to acquaint the reader in a very general way with the setting and story of Higher Education in India; (2) to give a résumé of the most pertinent facts presented in recent treatises; (3) to sketch and integrate inferences drawn in these studies, surveys and reviews, and (4) to indicate our own additional observations and conclusions as they affect the American schools under review.

I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT MISSION
INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION*

During these tense days in India when nationals are spurred to recover and even to idealize their past, certain facts about education in that past should be recalled.

* Basic data largely drawn from the "Hartog Report," especially Chaps. II and VI: *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*.

In ancient times India had better culture than schools. Her poets and philosophers in those days had produced a great and persistently influential literature. This scholastic culture permeated the social structure through the centuries. Some of the Mogul emperors fostered Islamic learning.

Before the opening of the nineteenth century, and largely attributable to foreign invasion and civil strife, indigenous culture and its transmission had seriously declined. Brahmin schools, however, still existed; in these the sacred books were learned. The Koran and its authorized interpretations were taught in the higher Moslem schools. The pupils in these indigenous schools were comparatively few and the work done was religion-centered.

Four rather singular facts capture our attention as we glance at the records concerning higher education in India during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries. (1) It was the British who led in the revival of Indian learning. Warren Hastings founded a higher school for Moslems in Calcutta in 1781 and Duncan, the British resident at Benares, established the Sanskrit college there in 1792. (2) The Indian reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, opposed the plan of Lord Amherst to establish the Sanskrit college (1817) in Calcutta on the ground that "English education" was the way out, while the teaching of Sanskrit was regarded by him as the way back into the night; he wanted Western physics and chemistry, however, more than he wanted English. (3) It was religious leaders in England who inspired the East India Company's Act of 1813, which made "a lak of rupees" available each year for education,—a sum actually spent, however, for the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic. (4) The missionaries, in establishing colleges, put Western classical learning and the English language first.

In the Bengal Committee of Public Instruction a bitter controversy arose between those who would have all the teaching done in Sanskrit and Arabic ("Orientalists") and those who held that English should be the medium of instruction, except for the mass of the people for whom the vernacular should be used ("Anglicists"). Macaulay settled it by his Minute of 1835 by choosing "English Education." Although the schools of Oriental learning were continued, translations into Sanskrit and Arabic were discontinued. Lords Bentinck and Auckland, as Governors-General, endorsed and continued Macaulay's policy.

Long before this controversy was settled, missionaries siding with

the "Anglicists" had founded colleges. Carey and his colleagues founded a college at Serampore in 1818. The Church of England established Bishop's College in Calcutta in 1820; while in 1830 Duff opened the "General Assembly's College" in Calcutta. Although missionary schools had been operating in Madras since 1787, Madras Christian College was not opened until 1837. In Bombay the Wilson School, which afterwards became Wilson College, was opened in 1834.

The education dispatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 became determinative almost immediately, and although modified at the beginning of the twentieth century, is still operative. Among the many measures prescribed therein was the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid, which it was then thought would enable the system based on this principle to supersede any system provided by the government. Under this plan, institutions of higher education especially were to be handed over eventually to local bodies which would be under the control of the State and might be aided by it. Almost immediately universities were established in the Presidency towns—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, in 1857. These functioned only as centers of affiliation and examination; that is, the actual teaching was conducted in affiliated colleges. Throughout British-India in the years that followed, a great number of schools and colleges were founded, many of which were Christian colleges. An affiliating university was founded at Lahore in 1882 and another at Allahabad in 1887. The growth of private institutions was encouraged by the Report of the Education Commission of 1882, even though higher education was not specifically within its purview. This Commission reviewed the progress of education, especially primary education; the Government approved its recommendations for the expansion and improvement of elementary education for the masses, including the development of the grant-in-aid system.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the number and character of the affiliated Arts Colleges, the great majority of which were under private management, necessitated the extension of university supervision and control. This was accomplished after the Reports of the University Commissions.

In 1900 the Government recognized "the necessity for the continuance of Government control, guidance and assistance in higher education." In 1904 the Resolution on Indian Educational Policy recognized the "extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number

of institutions, both as models for private enterprise to follow and in order to uphold a high standard of education."

In 1913 another Government Education Resolution provided for "teaching faculties" in the five existing universities, and for the rise of new universities; but the Great War delayed procedure. In addition, the rapid growth of nationalism which followed stimulated devolution. The report of the Sadler Commission accepted by the Government (1920) has since had a profound influence on higher education. Education has become a "transferred subject" and the separate provinces now control education. Ten new universities were established between 1916 and 1930: among these were the Hindu University at Benares and the Moslem University at Aligarh. These are known as "unitary" universities; that is, where all the teaching is at one center and by the staff of the university.

Four events of great importance should be recalled in facing the existing situation of higher education in India today. First, the grants-in-aid policy (1854) which by its annual assistance made the rise of mission colleges easy, and assured their continuance from year to year, even though they might be unstable and inadequate. Second, the failure of mission colleges generally to keep the pace set by Government colleges as to staff, equipment and efficiency, and the consequent impairment of their standing, which obliged the Government to increase its supervision and requirements. Third, the fluid fact of the mood of India today which urges the rapid transfer of the staffing and control of mission colleges to the nationals. This desire for undelayed and complete Indianization has grown rapidly during the last decade and involves problems of missionary personnel and the security and extension of American investment. The process of devolution in mission colleges has lagged behind that in Government institutions, with consequent restlessness and resentment. Fourth, the fact that Western science is welcome, but that Western classical elements in the curricula, including exotic history and language requirements, are too prominent. There was little laboratory science in India for half a century following Ram Mohan Roy's efforts. The University of Calcutta offered no degree in Science till 1902, although it trained some "engineers" in land-surveying, road construction and house-building. The first engineer of importance was Ramakakanta Ray, who was trained as a mining engineer in Japan.

These and other events and factors share in the situation which has called out studies and surveys of mission higher education in India during recent years.

II

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF INFORMATION PRESENTED
IN RECENT STUDIES AND REPORTS

In recent years educators as individuals and as groups constituting Commissions have sketched in a background for their suggestions and recommendations. These recognize especially the perennial elements and changing phases of Indian life and mood and higher educational development which stimulate and condition present procedure, and appreciate certain factors which are becoming more distinct in this background, as necessary in any judicial attempt to appraise the situation.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, which inspired the Government of India Act of 1919, set forth brilliantly the "local and racial characteristics which make self-government on Western lines an embarrassing gift for India," and which are important in the educational flux of today. Mr. Arthur Mayhew spent three years in surveying his twenty-years' experience in India as an educational leader and has presented it in a book-length review.* In Chapter IV he discusses "Resisting Forces in India." Here he reminds his readers that it has not been "clearly understood that Hindu life and thought which it was proposed to Westernize, were essentially religious," and cites the statement of Vincent Smith that Hinduism is "a scheme of living so interwoven into the whole existence of those whom it concerns, and placing every natural habit and duty so entirely on the religious basis as the immediate reason for it, that to distinguish between sacred and profane is almost impossible." He reminds us that caste and the joint-family system (both essentially religious) have great educational significance, and that Islam must be accorded consideration. In Chapter V Mr. Mayhew comments on the Government's failure in its educational policy *in re* the content of instruction to direct "indifference to the interrelations of material events, a love of nature combined with a pathetic ignorance of its laws, preoccupation with an unseen but very real world, a capacity for finding God everywhere and a reluctance to identify Him essentially with morality, and a catholicity that fails rather attractively to distinguish what is socially useful from what is socially obstructive, or what is intellectually true from what is false."

In his chapter on "Education and Culture" (XIII), he finds "that,

* Mayhew, Arthur, *The Education of India* (Faber & Gwyer, 1926).

educationally, we have not yet made any substantial contribution to India's scheme of real values. When the educated Indian is most himself, in expression of his deepest emotion and in the domestic and communal enjoyment of his leisure, he shows the least trace of what our schools and colleges have given him. . . . And it is now recognized that the personality of India can find complete and joyful expression only in a life consistent with her spiritual and social traditions and heritage. It remains for the West to suggest means of developing that life, and remind India that the absence of development means spiritual death."

The Hartog Committee, in its review of the "Growth of Education in British India," devoted "more attention to mass education than to secondary and university education . . . because the problems of primary education have been comparatively neglected." There is a chapter (VI) on Universities in which it is said (Section VII) that "many graduates leave the university with no wide intellectual interests, no training in leadership and little sense of responsibility to others"; also that "the over-crowding of universities and colleges by men of whom a large number fail and for whom there is no economic demand has vitally affected the quality of university education." In Chapter XII we read, "For generations, the spread of education was due almost entirely to the agency of Government and the missions. . . . These institutions were not content merely to impart good education; they sought also to give moral and religious training which, though at times influenced by a spirit of proselytizing zeal, yet preserved Indian education from being divorced from the ethical and spiritual aspects of life." . . . "Not only in the past but also in recent times missions have done pioneer and experimental work of great value. For instance, it was they who first developed the residential system; and the experiments in rural education which have been initiated by the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga and elsewhere have attracted much attention and have given rise to a new movement." Mr. Reddi, who served on the Hartog Committee and signed the Report, adds a personal note urging moral and religious instruction in schools: "In a mixed school of Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians, separate classes for each will have to be held by their respective teachers until a common syllabus based on universal faith acceptable to all creeds is drawn up."

The Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, composed of three British, two Indian and two American educators, deemed it wise in its report* to devote an early chapter to "Changing

* *The Christian College in India*, Oxford University Press (1931).

India," with the subdivisions (1) "Social, economic and political changes," (2) "New influences operating in Hinduism and Islam," (3) "The growth of the indigenous Church"; a few excerpts and comments must suffice.

The birth of an economic nationalism, following the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, resulted in marked changes in the curricula of institutions of higher learning. "The educated classes are rapidly obtaining, if not a scientific, at least an emotional, apprehension of the general condition of the masses and the economic injustices to which they are subjected." Some suggest the necessity of an economic and political revolution. "Among the educated classes, religion, it would appear, is losing its former significance." Indian youth are becoming more and more skeptical as to the value of religion while communal strife is undermining the authority of religion.

Among the more important factors effecting changes in Hinduism are "aggressive nationalism," the growth of secularism and the "re-conditioning of the old Hindu faith." "The same definite hostility to religion which we found to be present among Hindus is increasingly present also among educated Muslims." Besides the growth "in self-consciousness on the part of the Christian community" the indigenous churches are increasingly realizing autonomy. There is also a growing spirit of service, and Indianization of worship. These Indian church members desire control of missionary schools and colleges.

From the results of the questionnaire sent out in advance by the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, which are summarized in the Appendices, we learn that there are forty-three Christian colleges; all but one are in India,—the exception being Judson College in Burma; that of these, thirty-eight are Arts Colleges of which eleven are Second Grade or Junior Colleges; that is, these provide for freshmen and sophomores in the B.A. degree scheme; that ten of these Arts Colleges are American as to origin and direct or indirect control. An instance is cited of a college with an enrollment of over a thousand, of which only thirty-seven are Christian.

It should be noted that there are only three union colleges in the fullest sense, and that all of these are women's colleges; and further that of the thirty-eight Arts Colleges six are exclusively for women and that in five of these the majority* of the students are Christian.

* "In all except one of the six the majority—in some cases the overwhelming majority—of their students are Christians."—*Op. cit.*, p. 13.

It is quite significant also that in the six women's colleges seventy of eighty-eight members of the staffs are Christians.

"There is a total of 833 teachers on the staffs of all these colleges," but some of these are missionaries; while of the Indian staffs there are 411 non-Christians and 240 Christians, or 62.6 per cent. and 37.4 per cent., respectively. The Indian non-Christian staff members for the ten American colleges total 154, and the Christian staff members 105, or 59.5 per cent. and 40.5 per cent., respectively. Of these American colleges only two have a larger number of missionaries than Christian nationals on their staffs. (Judson has sixteen missionaries to two Christian nationals; Isabella Thoburn has fourteen missionaries to ten Christian nationals.)

Two of these ten American colleges (Ewing Christian and Indore Christian) receive no Government grants. The total grants for the eight remaining is Rs.246,754. The total fees (including boarding fees) is Rs.565,536. The total from the boards in America is Rs.541,622. "Other sources" of income provide Rs.158,540. That is to say, of the funds for operating budgets, excluding "other sources," 18.3 per cent. comes from "Government Grants," 41.7 per cent. comes from "Fees" and 40 per cent. from "Home Boards." The significance of these financial figures is enhanced in the light of possible changes in respect to grants-in-aid under Provincial control in these days of growing nationalism.

III

SOME SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS APPEARING IN RECENT STUDIES AND REPORTS; COMMENTS

This Commission is under profound obligation to Christian educators who singly and in selected groups, out of their intimate knowledge of India and deliberative studies, have contributed so much toward possible solutions of some of the difficulties in and about higher education in India.

Excerpts from the Indian Universities Commission, the Sadler Report and the Hartog Committee, as well as from the Education Resolutions of the Government of India, must be omitted for lack of space. Two recent studies and findings with special reference to Christian higher education may be referred to,—all too briefly.

Mr. Mayhew summarizes his conclusions concerning education in India as follows:*

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

"I venture to emphasize five conclusions which deserve attention, if they fail to win support:—

(a) Our education has done far less for Indian culture than for the material and political progress of India. She looks to our schools and colleges for equipment in the struggle for existence; for the secret of happy living, *vivendi causae*, she looks elsewhere.

(b) Emotional reaction against foreign culture affords no soil for indigenous growth. The sympathetic application of critical and scientific methods to Indian life and thought, and the adoption of a "western" attitude of mind, must precede the fusion of East and West that India's wisest minds desire.

(c) Indian personality and life as a whole will not intimately be affected by any education which is not animated by religion. The forces which oppose progress can be restrained or diverted only by a religion more vital than those on which they depend for sanction.

(d) Higher education in India depends for warmth and colour, vitality, and response to communal aspirations, on the measure of its freedom from the control and direction of any form of government, whether Indian or alien. The function of Government in this sphere is to suppress what is harmful to the common-weal and to support, with the utmost elasticity, whatever is useful and effective. But for the better education of the masses, as a fundamental condition of national progress, a vigorous initiative must be taken, and a financial policy prescribed, by the Government.

(e) At no previous stage has Indian education needed more sorely western sympathy, support, and guidance. English educational work in India will be more deeply appreciated and more fruitful when it is not associated officially with an alien Government."

With these inferences he introduces his discussion (Introduction) and in his Epilogue he hazards a forecast as to the future:

"Its influence (public opinion) will make itself felt first on the financial side. Mass education cannot be extended, nor the present level of higher education maintained, until the financial position is defined and faced and a larger educational income guaranteed.

In one respect at least the new conditions will be beneficial. The work of western educationalists, outside the expiring

Indian Educational Service, will be better appreciated and more influential. Whether employed directly by a provincial Government or University, or by private committee or manager, they will be able, unhampered by the patronage or support of an external Government, to obtain recognition as the true servants of India, subject to Indian control and trustworthy for Indian guidance.

Christian missions will find their educational work correspondingly more easy. It would be wrong to anticipate official hostility to their work. Its material value is too widely recognized. Any step calculated to result in withdrawal from such work would excite popular resentment. When, in certain quarters, the demand arose recently for a conscience clause, the tactful attitude of the missions, which recognized that the demand, though practically embarrassing and of dubious origin, was theoretically unassailable, and the local Government's desire to ensure a continuance of their educational help, brought about a solution of the problem creditable, and apparently satisfactory, to all parties. Far more formidable is the possibility that the usefulness of missions on the one hand, and the financial friendliness of the Government on the other, may establish conditions which would impair the freedom of missions. That such freedom, to all bodies engaged in higher education, is an essential condition of real usefulness has been sufficiently emphasized above. The employment of it, without sacrifice of financial support, will testify to the fact of missions and good sense of the Government.

Unfortunately, it is the material benefits rather than the spiritual driving force behind them that India recognizes at present in mission work. It cannot be claimed that the new conditions are equally favorable for educational work inspired by the other great religions of India."*

In order that American readers may be informed concerning the careful and comprehensive work and suggestions of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, the following excerpts are supplied:

"THE MEANING OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

We have seen in our survey how the changing conditions have necessitated a restatement of the original purpose of the Chris-

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 282, 283.

tian College, have made its original curriculum out of date, and have subjected it, with the growth of the University and examination system, to new dangers and perversions. We have seen, further, how all these conditions have brought it about that the colleges at the present time suffer from an ambiguity of purpose. We are to try so to restate their function that they may recover the unity and wholeness of purpose that they once possessed, which will unite their secular curriculum to their religious instruction and will put the colleges into their proper place in the whole Christian enterprise. And we shall begin by trying to see whether we can find a new version of that *præparatio evangelica*, the conception of which gave such unity to the colleges of an earlier time—see whether we can find the content of the education which a Christian college should give under modern conditions. . . .” (p. 144).

“NEEDED EMPHASIS IN CONTEMPORARY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Now we may take it for granted that the content of a modern Christian education in Indian colleges can only be worked out in India. It is certainly true that whatever knowledge from the West is taught in India it must be given a particular Indian setting and related to Indian needs and difficulties. This is one among several of the reasons why we have elsewhere laid so much stress on close coöperation of Indian and non-Indian Christians in the work of the colleges. But while this is so there are, we think, certain general principles which can be laid down to determine in general, the content of education which Christian colleges ought to give.

We are not concerned to discover new subjects, but rather to insist upon the importance of such a balance and choice of subjects as will make all the teaching in the college form a whole. . . .” (p. 147).

“SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT THUS FAR

It will be clear from the foregoing discussion that the proposal to add to the Christian colleges the two new functions of extension and research is the central part of our plan for the colleges. For we hope by this proposal to solve the various difficulties which have been confronting us. It should be possible in this way to bring the colleges into clear contact with the rest of the Christian enterprise, to enable them to render that service of knowledge which is so badly needed in India at the present

time, to give our teachers in the colleges a sphere where their powers of discovery and initiative will find free play, to restore to the Christian colleges their pioneer plan in Indian education, to put the colleges in a position where they will be enabled to think out anew the proper content of an education which is to be a true *præparatio evangelica*, and by the reflex action of these new functions on the existing educational work of the colleges to raise the educational and scholarly standards of their work and to inform them with a great purpose—that of service to the community—which may prevail against the present dominating purpose of success in examination. The assumption of these two new functions, in short, is in our judgment the indispensable condition to a fruitful continuance of the alliance between the Christian colleges and the University system.

It is by means of this proposal again that we hope again to produce such a large coincidence between the purpose of the Indian Universities and of the Christian colleges as may make it possible for the colleges to maintain their place in the University system and yet be free to follow their distinctive purpose. For we believe that the direction which these proposals will give to the education in the colleges is a direction towards the kind of education that India needs and that the Universities will welcome, since it emphasizes the historical rather than the abstract, and the practical rather than the purely academic.

We are confident also that it will be recognized that if the colleges make the principle of service which is implicit in Christianity the central inspiration of their work, they will be fostering a spirit which India needs and which India will welcome.

Further, we believe that while it is essential that India as a distinct and self-respecting community should have an education which expresses the spirit and genius of its people and is responsive to their needs, the unity of the human race and the specific inter-relationships between India and the West which have been brought about by history make it essential that in achieving their national ideal Indian educators should have the help of the best that the colleges of the West can give them, both in ideals, experience, and personnel. Hence the ideal for a Christian college in India is neither exclusively Indian nor exclusively western, but one in which Indians and westerners work together in mutual coöperation and self-respect. . . .” (pp. 174, 175).

“CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS” (*Concerning Staffing and Recruiting*)

“We recommend:

1. That the colleges make every effort to increase the number of well-qualified Indian Christian teachers on their staffs.
2. That for this purpose they organize in common a scheme of post-graduate studentships for promising candidates and a central bureau of information.
3. That central recruiting bureaus be established in Britain and America which should keep in touch with the colleges and the recruiting bureau in India, with the Mission Boards, the Universities, and the Student Movement.
4. That these bureaus should, through the International Missionary Council, get in touch with and consider candidates from the continent of Europe.
5. That colleges should take steps to keep men in touch with their alumni.
6. That visits from British and American scholars be arranged.
7. That the Christian teachers in the colleges arrange staff conferences to discuss their common problems” (pp. 219, 220).

“FINAL SUMMARY”

“We may now summarize briefly the plan we have been expounding.

We do not believe it to be possible to persist in the present policy. Believing as we do that the evils of the present situation are not due to the weaknesses of individual colleges but to the system, we have recommended:

That all the Christian colleges should be regarded as coöperating in a common enterprise; and that in order to make this coöperation effective there should be some common organization to consider the system of higher education from the point of view of India as a whole.

At the same time, we do not think that common organization of itself will be of any value unless we somehow can give a new direction and initiative to the Christian colleges. We do not think that the needs and opportunities which the colleges could serve can possibly be neglected, and we do not think they can be adequately served either by giving up altogether responsibility for higher education or by setting up a Christian University.

We think it ought to be possible for the Christian colleges to maintain their place in the University system and yet

(1) Recover control of the content of their education, working out a new version of that *præparatio evangelica*, the conception of which gave such unity to the Christian colleges of earlier days;

(2) Give their teachers a sphere where they can exercise all their powers of experiment and research which are so starved under present conditions; and

(3) Be brought into close and direct contact with the Church in India.

We think this can be done if the colleges add to their present function of teaching the students within their walls the further function of supplying the community and the Christian Church in particular with the knowledge they need for the solution of their problems.

For the organization of this function of extension and research, as we have called it, we have recommended that in each province there should be set up a department of extension and research under a director. On the department should be represented both the colleges and those concerned with other forms of Christian work in the province. The department would allocate any funds which should be put at its disposal, but would also coördinate all the work of extension and research done in the province. We hope the department would be able to arrange that every college in some degree took part in this new work.

While we believe that from the closer contact between college and community which this new function will bring about from the practical, unregimented, and varying character of the problems with which our teachers will have to deal, a new direction and inspiration will be given to the colleges, we are also sure that the demands which this redirection will make upon the colleges will call for the highest qualities of corporate life and individual initiative. We have therefore first made recommendations designed to strengthen the corporate religious life of the colleges. To make these recommendations practical we have further recommended that the small colleges be careful to keep their numbers below the limit where a real corporate life becomes impossible, and the larger colleges to organize themselves into smaller units, which we have called Halls. These smaller units, we recommend, should have under the supreme control of the college some autonomy of teaching and common life.

Because we think that the success of our plan will depend upon the degree to which it calls forth Indian initiative, we have recommended radical changes in the government of colleges, designed (1) to transfer the government of Christian colleges to boards of direction functioning in India, and (2) to ensure the equal coöperation in the colleges of Indian and western Christians.

We have further made recommendations about staffing which are designed to give the colleges a larger supply of well-qualified Indian Christian teachers and to help them to recruit the best candidates available from Britain, America, and the Continent.

And, lastly, because we recognize that in spite of all these precautions it will not always be easy for the colleges to retain their independence while they are part of the University system and accept Government grants, we end as we began by commending concern for such questions to the common consideration of the colleges as a whole, acting along with the National Christian Council" (pp. 231, 232, 233).

RELATION OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES *

There are now seven affiliated universities of the old type—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Nagpur, Andhra and Agra. There are seven of the unitary or semi-unitary type—Benares, Aligarh, Rangoon, Lucknow, Dacca, Delhi and Allahabad.

The new university system has made difficulties for the Christian colleges. Some of them have been faced with acute problems arising from threatened or actual modifications of the character and function of the individual college in relation to the university. In Burma, the new University of Rangoon, a unitary university, was projected on lines which would have excluded Judson College from any real share in university work. The proposals were so modified, however, as to secure for the college a permanent place within the university, under a constitution which gives it large measure of control of its own life. Some of the American colleges in India were less fortunate. When the unitary universities were established at Lucknow and Allahabad, in the United Provinces, it was provided that all colleges within a radius of ten miles must either become internal colleges of the local university or must cease to exercise any university teaching functions. Ewing College at Allahabad and Lucknow Christian

* See *The Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, pp. 70-75.

College at Lucknow were faced with a revolutionary change. Ewing is giving a trial to the plan of the internal college, while maintaining its intermediate classes. Lucknow withdrew from its former relation to the university and transformed the college into an intermediate institution.

St. Stephen's College, which seems to us one of the most effective of the Christian colleges in India, was able, like Judson College in Burma, to maintain a strong independent position and to remain an influential factor in the structure of the university itself.

It is obvious that the academic freedom of the Christian colleges may be and doubtless is endangered by Government grants. The more the colleges depend upon Government subsidy, the more difficult it will be for them to maintain their independence. The time may come when the acceptance of the grants-in-aid may be impossible without the destruction of freedom and self-respect. The relation of this contingency to the necessity for the increase of endowments for the colleges is apparent.

We are facing the conditions of a new day and should face them squarely and fearlessly. In all candor it may be said that, as the result of the rise of the liberally supported Government colleges and of certain advantages which the Government colleges enjoy, the Christian colleges, with a few notable exceptions, have lost their educational preëminence. Some of them are doing creditable work, but, unless they receive fresh stimulus and support, they will probably be unable permanently and successfully to compete with Government colleges.

The achievements of the Christian colleges in direct evangelization in recent years appear to have been almost negligible. The permeative effect, though undoubtedly existent, is difficult to measure, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Christian colleges have contributed largely to the growth of the interest in Christianity among educated Indians and to the diffusion of Christian ideals. Many high tributes are paid from non-Christian sources to the so-called "character-building" service of Christian colleges.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE

The distinctive Christian purpose of the college cannot be achieved unless it commands respect as an educational institution. The opportunity for influence through religious teaching is intrinsically worthwhile, but no college should be content with inferior work because

it offers opportunities for Christian teaching and influence. A poor college cannot be a good Christian college. In the conduct of a Christian college, first consideration must always be given to the maintenance of high educational standards. This means above everything else, a strong faculty, with all that a strong faculty implies. If in the case of a given college there is no reasonable prospect of financial support sufficient to provide a strong faculty (and such a faculty cannot be maintained without a good library and other essential tools), the college should be closed.

Madras Christian College has "an academic standard surpassed by none of the Christian colleges in the country." This makes the more significant the words of President Hogg of that college, himself one of the outstanding leaders in education in India. He says, "It is difficult to resist the impression that already there has been decline, not to the second-rate, but to a lower relative status than the college formerly occupied. A college is not a mere center of intellectual industry or a manufactory of degrees. But judged by the appreciable criterion of percentage of passes and of the scholastic attainments of its best pupils, it can claim no preëminence, and in respect of equipment, and variety of subjects provided, it not only—as is natural—lags far behind the Government Presidency College, but has other serious rivals. . . . Its rate of advance has not been equalled by the rate of advance of the institutions by which it is beginning to be overtaken. . . . Under the great pioneers, Christian education, besides being Christian, was foremost in educational quality, as on the whole it still is in the case of colleges for girls. Nowadays in the men's field it is, at the best, only a little better in educational quality than what is supplied in non-missionary colleges, and much of it falls far below the best." *

Another member of the faculty of the Madras Christian College says: "So long as the whole business of college work is a struggle to make ends meet, while our libraries are starved, our apparatus and equipment inferior to those of many of our rivals, and our faculty too fully occupied with routine teaching to do the advanced work, the informal additional instruction, the conduct of social, philanthropic, and 'border line' studies, in which Christian personality and the Christian outlook on life will tell most decisively, the ideal is unattainable." The ideal to which he refers is "to bring students

* *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, pp. 80, 81.

under strong constructive Christian influence, and to give to them an education better than the best." *

The seriously unsatisfactory condition of the Christian colleges in India at the present time is indicated by the resolutions of the Conference of Indian Christian and Missionary Educators, held at Agra in 1929, which led to the appointment of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India. These resolutions declared that the situation is critical, because of increasing competition, increasing stringency of Government and university control, and increasing expensiveness of higher education. A direct quotation from these resolutions is as follows: "If Christian colleges are still to lead the way, as it is all-important for India that they should do, it can only be by the quality and not by the quantity of the work they do."

THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

In large measure the pressure of the examination system, as it now exists, thwarts and constricts the cultural value of the education which should be given, and similarly affects the seeking and questioning religious spirit of the students. The colleges find it difficult to give attention to anything which lies outside of the examination program to which they are bound by the bonds of economic and material necessity. The examination machine is in control, and blights what it dominates.

RESEARCH AND EXTENSION

It is important to remember that the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India confined its study to higher education and made no attempt to judge the relative values or the relative needs of other phases of the missionary enterprise. It is evident that the work of missions must be studied in its entirety, and recommendations as to any part of its work must be in right proportion to the needs and opportunities of missionary work as a whole. This is of special significance when we consider the recommendations which the Commission made as to the addition of the function of research and extension.

We have no doubt that the adoption of this recommendation would reinvigorate the Christian colleges and enable them to render a greater service to Christian community and to the entire country. Its adoption, however, is not merely a matter of formal action by

* *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

the colleges. It presupposes additions to the staff and the financial resources of the colleges.

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

By the "Conscience Clause" is meant the provision, as a condition of Government grants to mission colleges, or of official "recognition" of such colleges, that exemption from required attendance upon religious exercises and Scripture classes be granted to any student whose parents request such exemption. The form of its administration may cause serious perplexity to the representatives of the Christian schools. In Burma it is proposed that the parents of each student state their attitude upon the question of required attendance. Such a proposition may easily be made the instrument of anti-Christian propaganda. There are trends in the matter of the relation of mission schools to Government which are not without cause for concern.

It is evident that the term "religious freedom" may have different connotations as applied to the work of Christian missions. It may mean the freedom of the missions themselves in the administration of their work, or it may mean the freedom of those to whom they minister in the various aspects of their service. The term is used of the freedom of Christian missions themselves in the action of the International Missionary Council held at Herrnhut, Germany, in its session of July 2, 1932. The action speaks of "the presence of restraints and limitations upon the free witnessing of Christians and Christian missionaries to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which are increasingly evident in certain lands and which emanate from sectarian hostility, rival religious systems, new theories of the State or the rising tide of nationalism."

There are not wanting those who believe that some such position as is here described is involved in the acceptance or non-acceptance of the restrictions of the so-called "Conscience Clause." Most of those concerned in the administration of the Christian colleges in the East do not share this view. A majority believe that the service which the colleges can render is not seriously curtailed by such restrictions, and some hold that the restriction is actually beneficial to the influence of the Christian colleges. In any case, so long as governmental grants-in-aid are accepted there must be no hesitation or subterfuge in the complete and whole-hearted fulfillment of the Governmental requirement. The colleges might well take the initiative in the adoption of the policy.

IV

FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION OF APPRAISAL

In grateful recognition of careful studies made by highly competent predecessors and mindful of the unavoidable time limitation which prevented detailed consideration of the complexities inhering in the changing situation, the Commission of Appraisal concludes this Regional Report with extracts from its Report—*Re-Thinking Missions*:

“The recommendations of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, which in our judgment are of the greatest importance may be summarized as follows:

1. All the Christian colleges should be regarded as coöperating in a common enterprise. To this end there should be created in India a Central Committee representing all the colleges with the functions of coördinating educational programs, distributing information as to available men for teaching positions, and formulating needs to be met through the coöperation of home authorities.

2. The government of the colleges should be transferred from mission boards and missions to governing bodies functioning in India and consisting largely of Indian Christians.

3. To the teaching function of the colleges there should be added those of research and extension, with the particular purpose of supplying the community and the Christian church with the knowledge they need for the solution of their problems.

The first and second of these recommendations seem to us both wise and feasible. They are in substantial harmony with the general policies advocated in our own report, and call for no supporting argument at this point. We earnestly hope they will be promptly adopted.

The third recommendation is sound in principle and of the greatest ultimate importance. There is no doubt that a carefully formulated and adequately supported program of research and extension, such as the Commission on Christian Higher Education outlined in its report, would bring fresh stimulation to the faculties of the colleges and increase their usefulness both to the Christian community and to India. We hope that as rapidly as funds for the purpose become available the recommendation will be carried into effect. But it is obvious, as the

Commission on Christian Higher Education recognized, that the support of a comprehensive program, in which all or most of the colleges should in a helpful degree participate, would require very large sums of money. We gravely doubt if the American colleges are justified in asking for such additional support under the conditions which prevail in them today. In our judgment, the support which they now receive should first be brought under such united control and direction as to assure its more economical and effective use" (pp. 167, 168).

"There are four points we wish to make which have a bearing upon the situation of the Christian colleges in all three of the countries covered by our study.

1. A grave danger inherent in the attempt to maintain Christian colleges and universities in the Orient is that of subordinating the educational to the religious objective, particularly in appointments to the faculties. The importance of giving first consideration to the intellectual qualifications of a candidate is generally recognized in theory, but there is no doubt that in many instances men of inferior capacity, training, or teaching ability have been appointed to college faculties because of undue emphasis on religious and even on denomination affiliations. This is one reason, though by no means the only one, for the mediocrity of many of the Christian institutions.

We feel that we cannot over-emphasize the importance of being constantly on guard against this danger. The Christians of America will render no real service either to the Orient or to Christianity by maintaining or assisting to maintain colleges which do not command the respect and confidence of educated nationals, and if the Christian character of an institution cannot be maintained without the sacrifice of educational standards, it should be closed.

2. Another danger that calls for vigilance is the persistence of 'foreignness.' In the nature of the case the Christian colleges began as foreign institutions and it is only by a gradual process that they can become Indian, or Chinese, or Japanese, as the case may be. But it is only by becoming thoroughly naturalized that they can hope ultimately to be supported by the nationals, and to realize their potentialities for service to the Orient. This involves not only the gradual and whole-hearted devolution of authority but increasing coöperation with indigenous institutions, increasing devotion to the study of national genius and

culture, and increasing concern with the problems of their environment.

3. It is the common practice of mission boards in America to select and appoint those western members of the faculties of the Christian colleges whose salaries are paid from mission funds. In most cases, probably, the officers of the colleges are consulted and an endeavor is made to make appointments satisfactory to them. The fact remains that their freedom of choice is often seriously restricted.

This seems to us extremely unfortunate. It is the invariable practice of American colleges that appointments to the faculty are made by the college authorities themselves. No respectable American college would accept an arrangement by which the power to select some of its teachers was delegated to an outside body, however friendly and intelligent that body might be. It is our judgment that the time has come for the adoption of this American practice in the administration of the Christian colleges in the Orient. Their officers are assumed to be competent to appoint nationals to their staffs. Why are they not competent to appoint foreign members as well? It may be argued that they are too far away to make wise selections, but if there were a central bureau of information in America this difficulty would in large measure be obviated. Furthermore, the officers in the Orient would undoubtedly seek the assistance and advice of their supporting boards at home. We see no objection to the formal ratification of appointments by the home boards. The point is that the officers of a college, who are familiar with its conditions and its needs, should not be handicapped in the attempt to build up and maintain a strong faculty by the dominant authority of a mission board across the sea. We therefore recommend that the mission boards hereafter make their contributions to the colleges exclusively in the form of money grants, standing ready to assist in the selection of western teachers but leaving the ultimate choice without restriction to the college authorities.

4. Unquestionably the most serious weakness of the missionary enterprise in the field of higher education is the lack of unity of administration. In all of the three countries we have visited there is a discouraging diffusion of energy and resources. The number of colleges is disproportionate to the funds available or likely to become available for their adequate support and in many instances they compete wastefully with each other. Many of them have lost or are in serious danger of losing the reputation

for excellence which they once enjoyed. Some of them are not a credit to the Christian cause. Yet every attempt by voluntary agreement and persuasion to bring about the adoption of a comprehensive program of union and coördination has failed.

We are convinced that the only remedy for this condition is the establishment of centralized authority. From the point of view of American contributors the Christian colleges in the Orient should constitute a single enterprise; the control of all missionary funds for their support should be placed in the hands of a single competent board; and the board should be vested with ample authority to deal drastically with the situation.

This proposal is identical in principle with that which this Commission is making in Chapter XIV for the reorganization of the administration of missions. Perhaps there is no field in which the need of such reorganization is more urgent than in that of higher education. In our judgment the Christians of America still have a great opportunity in this field not only to express their friendship and good will toward the people of the Orient, but to render a service of inestimable value to the world. It would be a calamity if through the persistence of denominational divisiveness, parochial interests and institutional pride, this great opportunity should be lost" (pp. 177-179) .

COLLATERAL DATA

Recommendations from *The Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, concerning American colleges in India:

THE PROPOSED UNION OF ANDHRA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, GUNTUR, AND NOBLE COLLEGE, MASULIPATAM, IN A UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE AT BEZWADA

Of these two colleges, Noble College is one of the oldest in south India. Both are situated in the Andhra district, in which the language is Telugu. The needs of the rapidly growing Christian community have convinced the missions at work in this area that their efforts should be combined in a single, strongly staffed college, centrally situated and making the service of the Christian people its primary concern. This proposal has the support of the Andhra Christian Council, and the two colleges are cordially coöperating towards its achievement. Agreement has been reached as to the location of the projected college, namely, at Bezwada, where it would occupy a central position with reference to the Christian population. The Commission had the opportunity of frequent consultations with the authorities of both these colleges and with representatives of other missions interested in this project, and as a result of these discussions makes the following recommendations:

1. We reaffirm our warm approval of the proposals for a Union Christian College as expressed in the letter written on January 22, 1931, by our Chairman to the Principal of the Guntur College, and would earnestly press upon all the bodies concerned the importance of coöperating cordially in carrying out the scheme.

2. We are convinced that in deciding to adhere to the proposal to go to Bezwada the promoters of the scheme have taken the wisest course possible for the welfare of the Christian community in the Andhra area, and that the success of this new venture will be of vital importance to the Church in south India.

3. We desire to commend the generous attitude adopted by the authorities of the American Lutheran Mission, and trust that it will be met by an equally generous response from the boards on whose action the whole Union enterprise depends.

4. We are concerned at the extent to which the number of students in the Guntur College has been allowed to increase during the past few years, and would draw the special attention of the Committee responsible for the plans of the proposed College to what is contained in our Report on the subject of numbers.

5. We commend to the authorities of the proposed College the "Hall" method of dealing with a large student body. In particular we hope that each of the two colleges in joining to form the Andhra Christian College at Bezwada will be able to retain something of its traditions and its identity as a Hall or Halls within the larger body.

6. We are disposed to question the wisdom of basing the plan of coöperation upon the acceptance of a doctrinal statement specially drawn up for this purpose, but recognize that the coöperating bodies have made no objection to the proposal.

7. We welcome the liberal form of government suggested in the plan of coöperation, but recommend that the suggestions made in our Report on the general subject of government of colleges be considered before any final decision is taken.

8. We recommend that careful attention be given to the matter of the provision of an adequate number of high schools where this appears to be lacking.

9. We are unable to make a definite recommendation as to the wisdom of maintaining Intermediate colleges at Guntur and Masulipatam, but are inclined to think that at Masulipatam at any rate it will be wiser to concentrate upon a good high school (pp. 297, 298).

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE COLLEGES IN ALLAHABAD

(a) EWING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE AND HOLLAND HALL

We think that the greatest possibilities of service open to Ewing Christian College are its chance of

- (a) building up at Allahabad a strong staff of men engaged in extension and research, serving the Christian community, and doing work which is entirely free from University regulations,
- (b) bringing under its influence at Holland Hall a group of picked University students both Christian and non-Christian, and
- (c) bringing the inspiring influences of the work of extension and research to bear upon the University by means of Holland Hall.

1. We recommend that Ewing Christian College make it a first charge upon its resources to build up a strong group of men at Allahabad engaged in extension and research under this department, and inasmuch as we attach great importance to the influence on University students and studies of these new functions of extension and research, we recommend that this group be regarded as an addition to the staff of Holland Hall.

2. We recommend that there should be associated with the other work of the college, if the necessary recognition can be obtained, a teachers' training college for men of Intermediate qualifications.

3. Ewing College seems to us peculiarly well fitted to explore these new possibilities of Christian service, and we are inclined to suggest to the authorities of the college that as the work in extension and research develops it may seem wise to subordinate the Intermediate college to these other enterprises, and if these should develop, as we hope and anticipate, even to close it altogether unless they should find that the continuation of the Intermediate college proves of real value to their teachers' training work or to any other part of the programme of extension and research.

4. With regard to Holland Hall we suggest that while remaining in close alliance with the other Christian educational developments in Allahabad it be encouraged to develop its own life as an internal college of the University to the fullest extent which the University regulations make possible and on lines which we have suggested elsewhere in our Report.

To this end we think that it should have its own resident Principal. Whether he should at the same time be Principal of the Intermediate college and of the proposed training college is a matter to be decided by considerations of administrative convenience; but we think it important that he should make the development of the internal college his chief concern.

5. We recommend that the number of students in the Intermediate college be cut down in accordance with our general recommendations in regard to the size and organization of an effective Christian college, and that if at all possible some of its available resources be transferred to Holland Hall. In any event, we believe that the High School should be retained and strengthened.

(b) ALLAHABAD AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE

We have been much impressed with the great possibilities of the Agricultural Institute at Allahabad, and we would like to see it play a most important part in the whole work of rural reconstruction in the mass movement areas in the Province. We commend wholeheartedly the training course for teachers from village schools, and recommend that the Churches and missionary societies should take full advantage of the facilities which are offered to them in that course. We sympathize with the desire of the Principal to obtain University recognition for the higher work carried on by the Institute, but feel bound to state our opinion that the Board of Directors would be well advised to weigh the advantages of University recognition against the loss of freedom and initiative which it would almost certainly involve. We believe that this Institution may be of the greatest possible service to the whole Christian rural movement in north India, and feel that the Directors should take all possible steps so to survey its field of service and relate it to the Christian enterprise as a whole that the devotion, ability, and energy which have raised it to the position which it now occupies may, in coöperation with the leaders of the Christian movement in the Province, be directed to the steady pursuit of a well-defined and generally accepted objective (pp. 318, 319, 320).

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE COLLEGES IN LAHORE

(a) FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

Forman Christian College at the capital holds a strategic position. With a student body of 1,063 and a teaching staff of 47, it offers courses leading to the B.A., the B.Sc., the M.A., and the M.Sc. degrees. The college is closely related to the University in post-graduate teaching, as also to the Government College in its collegiate teaching for honours work. We have observed the high standard of research and unusual amount of creative work done by the college in response to the economic, social and educational needs of the Province. We have been interested in the extra-curricular courses offered to students whose curricular work is too narrowly specialized. We have appreciated the spirit of self-criticism shown by the staff, their alertness to remedy defects and to master opportunity.

At the same time, the report of the Principal, the statements of the Director of Public Instruction, and of a special committee of survey, confirm our impression that the college is in grave danger. The college has

been led, possibly constrained, by its financial needs, to enrol a number of students so great as practically to exclude much of that personal influence of teacher upon student which is one of the most significant features of a Christian college. It is in danger of losing its chance of making a distinctive contribution to the higher education of the Punjab.

1. We welcome the fact that the college is making a study of a better form of government, and urge the consideration of our recommendations on this subject.

2. The college has still too small a proportion of Christian teachers, and we urge that efforts be made to increase their number.

3. We cordially approve the decision of the college to move to a new site. We agree with the plan by which, at any rate with the present resources of men and means, the number of students is to be limited to 600, with at least 30 members of the teaching staff. We recommend that the "Hall" plan, suggested by the Commission and tentatively approved by the college, be carried out.

4. We believe the suggestion of the college to be wise, that furnished quarters be provided for single and married men of academic distinction from other universities, who may be invited to spend their Sabbatical years in the service of the college (see College Memorandum, dated 28/2/31, entitled "Scheme for Visiting Professors").

5. We recommend that on the new site no hostel be designated as a "Christian" hostel or reserved specially for Christian students.

6. We believe that it would be wise, at least for the present, to retain some building or buildings upon the old site for the convenience of those teachers and advanced students whose work is carried on in immediate connection with the University.

7. The grave agricultural situation in the Punjab described above enhances the importance of emphasis in the teaching of the colleges being placed upon the practical implications of the Christian message in the fields of economics and education. This makes specially important the recommendation that there be established at Lahore in connection with Forman Christian College a department of extension and research, with a view to answering the questions of the Christian Church and community, and the questions of rural educators. This department should organize and maintain an information service, which would make available to all inquirers a knowledge of those experiments in education and rural reconstruction which have been successful in other parts of India.

8. We would urge that, in this and in all other possible ways, Forman Christian College should seek to realize the ideal of the mother college, as presented by us above. This ideal would involve special efforts to foster those happy and helpful relations already existing with the other Christian colleges of the Punjab, and with Edwardes College, Peshawar, by means of lectures and exchange professorships. We trust that the ideal would also involve a special sense of responsibility which this college would share with St. John's College, Agra, for the training of Christian teachers of science. We hope that for the discharge of these important services other denominations beside those already engaged in the administration of the college may be persuaded to coöperate with it, so that the college may become a truly union Christian enterprise (pp. 327, 328, 329).

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING OTHER COLLEGES

(a) MURRAY COLLEGE, SIALKOT, AND GORDON COLLEGE, RAWALPINDI

Murray College, Sialkot, and Gordon College, Rawalpindi, are both doing excellent work. Both have most helpful relations to the communities beyond the college walls. In Murray College we learned of the service rendered by the Department of Chemistry to the workers in the local factories. Both colleges encourage their Christian students in the work of preaching and teaching in the villages. Both colleges have, however, grown so rapidly, that they are in danger of becoming so large as to weaken seriously their distinctive Christian contribution to higher education.

1. We recommend that each college make a decisive effort to strengthen its Christian staff, and so to limit the enrolment of students as to make possible greater personal influence on the students.

2. We would further urge upon each the careful consideration of the suggestions made by the Commission regarding college government.

3. We would recommend that these two sister colleges, whose relations have already been mutually helpful, should seek further coöperation, so that their work may be complementary. This would be peculiarly fitting, as the colleges are the representatives of two branches of the Presbyterian Church. In this connection we suggest that Murray College, at the center of an important mass-movement area, might make its chief responsibility the Christian community, while Gordon College, facing the trans-Jhelum region, with a population 90 per cent. Mohammedan, might give itself primarily to work among non-Christians.

4. We recommend that both colleges seek still further coöperation with Forman Christian College in the fields of extension and research (p. 331).

RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT JUDSON COLLEGE

We suggest:

1. That the present system of government of Judson College be altered so as to make it:

(a) More representative of the other Christian bodies carrying on work in Burma.

(b) More largely composed of those responsible for the educational policies of the college as distinct from the general interests of the mission.

We suggest that this result can be brought about by putting the management of the college in the hands of a smaller body more definitely chosen out of those interested in the college as such, and that the relation to the Church now maintained through the present board of trustees could be secured either through the continuation of the present board as an advisory body or in some other way.

2. We understand that the staff of the college are considering plans for the revision of its constitution with a view to a more exact definition of the responsibility of the Staff Governing Body. We suggest that in any contemplated changes they give consideration to the recommendations made in our Report as to the nature and function of the Staff Governing Bodies of Christian Colleges.

3. We recommend that the staff be strengthened so as to include:

- (a) A larger proportion of persons of advanced academic standard both western and indigenous;
- (b) More persons with British as distinct from American degrees;
- (c) More representatives of other Christian bodies.

As an aid in bringing this about we suggest some reconsideration of the present method of recruiting the western members of the staff, in line with the general recommendations made on this subject in the body of our Report.

4. We recommend that the policy of the college with reference to its indigenous members be more clearly defined in respect of tenure, method of appointment, and salary.

In this connection we commend to the authorities of the college the plan followed by other colleges of making it possible for approved members of the staff to spend one or two years of advanced study at college expense in Britain or America or at one of the Indian universities.

5. We believe that in order to secure the results aimed at in the preceding recommendations the college will be greatly aided if it can secure an adequate foundation which, administered by its own board yet under the conditions of coöperation with the mission suggested above, would render it an even more effective servant of the Church than it is today. We understand that those who are responsible for the college are considering the wisdom of securing such an endowment, and we believe that in doing so they are well advised (pp. 283, 284).

RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE COLLEGES IN LUCKNOW

(a) LUCKNOW CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

1. We consider that the point of departure for all plans for the future of this college should be the needs of the large mass-movement Christian community for which the Methodist Episcopal Church feels itself responsible.

We recommend therefore that the Intermediate college should be continued and strengthened, in order to serve this large constituency who will in increasing degree be needing college education. But we believe that at present the number of students is too large for its staff and organization, and that the college will be wise in reducing its numbers.

2. While the college should continue to prepare candidates for the matriculation and intermediate examinations, it should go beyond this in entering upon work of the kind outlined in Chapter VIII. In particular, it might make it possible for certain members of its staff to specialise in the study of the life of the depressed classes, and so do continuously what is being done for the moment by the Mass Movement Commission. We believe that in such specialization in mass-movement problems the Lucknow Christian College should be in close touch with students of the vernacular theological seminary at Bareilly and the proposed United Theological College for North India if and when it is established.

3. We commend the experiments made by this college in the fields of rural reconstruction, physical training, and hostel life and worship, and urge their continuance and amplification.

4. We approve of the plan for developing the hostel in the University

into an internal college like Holland Hall, and we recommend that the research and extension department at Holland Hall should take up the question of some form of coöperation between the Lucknow Christian College and Christ Church College, Cawnpore, with a view to the possibility of jointly developing research work in economics with special reference to the industrial conditions in the large cities of the Province.

5. We recommend that the School of Commerce be developed so as to offer a wider range of training to Christian young men.

(b) ISABELLA THOBURN COLLEGE

1. We have noted with great satisfaction the honourable place which has been given to this college as in effect the women's department of the University of Lucknow, and we would congratulate the college on the admirable use which it is making of its opportunities. It appears to us that the relation established between the college and the University is for the present eminently satisfactory, but that this relation needs carefully to be watched lest under growing pressure from the University and the public the college should gradually cease to have that control over the appointment of its staff and the choice of its students which is in our opinion essential if it is to maintain its dominantly Christian character. We hope that Isabella Thoburn College may enter into some common understanding with Kinnaird College, Lahore, with a view to securing that in the distribution of Christian women students both may continue to have a sufficient proportion of Christian students to maintain their present character.

2. We recommend that the Board of Directors in America and the Board of Governors in India should take into consideration our suggestions regarding the government of colleges in India, with a view to making such readjustments as may seem to them to be practicable and wise (pp. 320, 321, 322).

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, MADURA

1. We consider that this college should occupy a most important place in the general scheme for extension and research in South India, and we desire that it should share with the Madras Christian College the main responsibility for the promotion of this programme. We have suggested that the Madras Christian College should lay its chief emphasis upon the more philosophical and theological aspects of the Christian message. We think that the American College, Madura, is specially qualified to work out the practical implications of the Christian message, particularly in the fields of economics and sociology, with the object of helping the Christian Church and community to give a practical answer to questions connected with industrial and agricultural life. The authorities of the college have already given considerable thought to developments of this kind, and the group of institutions at Pasumalai provides excellent points of contact with large fields of opportunity. One of the first steps might be the development of an information service which should be available to all inquirers regarding successful experiments in agriculture, poultry-raising, coöperative credit, general rural reconstruction, model mill villages, etc. In this service the college should work in close coöperation with the Rural Department of the Y.M.C.A. Further

we recommend that the college make persistent efforts to secure University recognition for Honours and post-graduate work especially in the field of economics and philosophy.

2. In surveying the field in south India, it had been our hope to suggest the concentration of several missions upon this important college, and we have been very much impressed by the readiness of the college to make such readjustments of its constitution and plans as would facilitate such developments. We have not, however, found ourselves able to make definite recommendations for such concentration at present. We hope, nevertheless, that Madura will in due time become the centre of a strong Union College, and we recommend that in all subsequent architectural development the possibility of union with other colleges be kept in mind, and provision made for the maintenance of semi-independent "Halls" such as we have recommended in the case of the Madras Christian College and other colleges.

3. In particular we advise that facilities should be given to the authorities of the Tinnevely Diocese should they desire to make hostel provision at Madura for the Anglican students passing out from St. John's Intermediate College, Palamcottah.

4. We commend to the college the suggestions made in the body of our Report with regard to staffing and government, and we suggest that here and in other colleges efforts be made to provide as soon as possible housing accommodation for the permanent Indian members of the staff (pp. 294, 295).

VOORHEES COLLEGE, VELLORE

We have given careful consideration to the problem of this college. We fully recognize that it renders a definite service to the Christian community connected with the American Arcot Mission, and that there is a good deal to be said for making it possible for boys at the Intermediate stage to get their college education in or near their homes.

We feel, however, that this advantage is dearly bought unless the college in question is able to maintain a high standard of educational efficiency and Christian influence. To reach this standard would involve the authorities of the college in very considerable expense, and, even if the resources are available, we think that they would be more wisely added to the contribution which the mission is already making to the Madras Christian College.

We therefore recommend:

1. That the Intermediate college be given up and that students who are qualified to proceed beyond the high-school stage take their college education at Tambaram, where it is intended that special hostel arrangements shall be made for first-year students.

2. That funds now used in carrying on the college and any further funds which may become available be employed:

(1) In providing scholarships for deserving students at the Madras Christian College.

(2) In strengthening the high school work of the mission (p. 303).

Extracts from Appendices—*The Christian College in India* (The Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education), pp. 374-376:

INDIA-BURMA

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES OF INDIA AND BURMA

I

A. AMERICAN COLLEGES

College	Staff				Students		
	European	Indian-Christian	Non-Christian	Total	Christian	Non-Christian	Total
1. Andhra	4	21	28	53	97	708	805
2. Ewing	6	16	30	52	54	621	675
3. Forman	6	13	28	47	37	1026	1063
4. Gordon	4	5	13	22	34	332	366
5. Indore	4	7	4	15	8	364	372
6. Judson	16	2	18	36	137	137	274
7. Lucknow	6	15	10	31	53	516	569
8. Madura	5	13	12	30	74	382	456
9. Voorhees	1	3	7	11	31	125	156
10. Isabella Thoburn	14	10	4	28	110	38	148

B. BRITISH COLLEGES

11. Bishop Heber	5	6	16	27	106	262	368
12. Christ Church	3	2	14	19	8	227	235
13. Edwardes	1	2	6	9	2	118	120
14. Findlay	3	2	8	13	8	112	120
15. Hislop	3	5	6	14	15	290	305
16. Kottayam	0	9	4	13	160	75	235
17. Madras Christian	13	12	16	41	168	619	787
18. Murray	4	5	11	20	34	452	486
19. Noble	2	10	11	23	33	329	362
20. St. Andrew's	2	4	14	20	3	216	219
21. St. Columba's	2	0	13	15	12	197	209
22. St. John's, Agra	9	11	22	42	36	364	400
23. St. John's, Palamcottah ..	3	4	2	9	65	40	105
24. St. Paul's	3	4	13	20	42	295	337
25. St. Stephen's	7	5	10	22	19	312	331
26. Scott	2	7	3	12	66	103	169
27. Scottish Church	7	9	21	37	37	1348	1385
28. Serampore	4	3	15	22	26	257	283
29. Wesley	2	3	6	11	11	93	104
30. Wesleyan, Bankura	2	0	14	16	3	231	234
31. Wilson	8	1	10	19	32	840	872
32. Sarah Tucker	6	5	0	11	15	0	15
33. Diocesan	4	1	4	9	28	54	82

C. CONTINENTAL

34. Malabar	1	6	3	10	14	91	105
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D. INDIAN

35. Alwaye	3	11	9	23	189	148	337
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E. UNION

36. Kinnaird	4	3	4	11	34	33	67
37. Madras Women's	10	9	5	24	115	23	138
38. St. Christopher's	2	2	1	5	16	2	18

II FINANCE

A. AMERICAN COLLEGES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Government Grants *</i>	<i>Fees †</i>	<i>Home Boards</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1. Andhra Christian	17,856	65,688	37,705	None
2. Ewing Christian	Nil	58,466	27,500	29,615
3. Forman	21,667	199,068	50,000	41,030
4. Gordon	13,000	41,500	38,084	..
5. Indore Christian	Nil	22,840	29,233	2,371
6. Judson	114,500	74,900	58,348	56,322
7. Lucknow Christian	24,000	34,868	77,144	19,880
8. Madura	21,000	42,974	140,762	2,799
9. Voorhees	3,445	12,313	6,693	889
10. Isabella Thoburn	31,286	12,919	76,153	5,634

B. BRITISH COLLEGES

1. Bishop Heber	10,620	33,700	37,000	..
2. Christ Church	35,668	17,594	13,985	..
3. Edwardes	12,000	8,000	9,529	..
4. Findlay	8,522	10,993	14,000	307
5. Hislop	22,885	35,142	24,534	11,012
6. Kottayam	1,946	26,585	†	3,763
7. Madras Christian	53,114	152,385	57,084	5,395
8. Murray	9,850	51,905	25,077	..
9. Noble	9,848	32,973	20,200	2,212
10. Scott	1,220	16,041	8,644	79
11. Scottish Church	33,120	124,563	60,000	29,172
12. Serampore	14,872	28,366	42,500	18,602
13. St. Andrew's	36,142	21,434	6,699	1,163
14. St. Columba's	32,000	19,253	Nil	3,673
15. St. John's, Agra	76,430	40,000	17,037	14,920
16. St. John's, Palamcottah	3,300	9,628	11,316	917
17. St. Paul's	15,600	70,413	14,400	..
18. St. Stephen's	37,720	54,220	30,430	9,810
19. Wesley, Madras	5,616	10,930	16,040	2,346
20. Wesleyan, Bankura	14,868	48,232	17,832	547
21. Wilson	33,085	143,741	49,998	26,321
22. Diocesan	12,000	8,000	Nil	1,858
23. Sarah Tucker	11,692	4,131	3,360	222

C. CONTINENTAL

1. Malabar	3,000	10,489	4,674	933
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D. INDIAN

1. Alwaye	Nil	61,212	†	20,635
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E. UNION

1. Kinnaird	9,567	12,414	15,116	..
2. Madras Women's	22,000	9,000	39,000	1,500
3. St. Christopher's	6,537	3,288	15,750	7,475

* Recurring grants. On non-recurring grants the Christian colleges report the sum of Rs.39,146. † Includes boarding fees.

‡ In both Alwaye and Kottayam the C.M.S. ordinarily maintains a missionary on the staff, whose salaries do not appear on the financial statements of these colleges.

A LIST OF THE COLLEGES CONSIDERED IN THE REPORT

I. ARTS COLLEGES

Burma	Judson College (American Baptist)	Rangoon
Madras	Madras Christian College (mainly Church of Scotland)	Madras
	Women's Christian College (Union)	Madras
	Wesley College (Wesleyan Methodist)	Madras
	St. Christopher's Training College (Union)	Madras
	Findlay College (Wesleyan Methodist)	Mannargudi
	Voorhees College (Dutch Reformed Church of America)	Vellore
	American College (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions)	Madura
	Sarah Tucker College (C.M.S.)	Palamcottah
	St. John's College (C.M.S.)	Palamcottah
	Bishop Heber College (S.P.G.)	Trichinopoly
	Andhra Christian College (United Lutheran Church of America)	Guntur
Travancore	Noble College (C.M.S.)	Masulipatam
	Union Christian College (Indian)	Alwaye
	C.M.S. College (C.M.S.)	Kottayam
	Scott Christian College (L.M.S.)	Nagercoil
	Malabar Christian College (Basel Mission)	Calicut
Bengal	Scottish Church College (Church of Scotland)	Calcutta
	St. Paul's College (C.M.S.)	Calcutta
	Diocesan College for Women (Church of England)	Calcutta
	Serampore College (English Baptist)	Serampore
	Wesleyan College (Wesleyan Methodist)	Bankura
Bihar and Orissa	St. Columba's College (Dublin Mission, S.P.G.)	Hazaribagh
United Provinces	St. John's College (C.M.S.)	Agra
	Ewing Christian College (American Presbyterian)	Allahabad
	St. Andrew's College (C.M.S.)	Gorakhpur
	Christ Church College (S.P.G.)	Cawnpore
	Lucknow Christian College (American Methodist Episcopal)	Lucknow
	Isabella Thoburn College (American Methodist Episcopal)	Lucknow
Delhi	St. Stephen's College (Cambridge Mission, S.P.G.)	Delhi
Punjab	Forman Christian College (American Presbyterian)	Lahore
	Kinnaird College for Women (Union)	Lahore
	Murray College (Church of Scotland)	Sialkot
	Gordon College (American United Presbyterian)	Rawalpindi
N.W.F.P.	Edwardes College (C.M.S.)	Peshawar
Central India	Indore Christian College (United Church of Canada)	Indore
Central Provinces	Hislop College (Church of Scotland)	Nagpur
Bombay	Wilson College (Church of Scotland)	Bombay

II. THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES

Madras	United Theological College (Union)	Bangalore
Bengal	Serampore College (English Baptist)	Serampore
	Bishop's College (Church of England)	Calcutta
Central Provinces	India Methodist Theological College	Jubbulpore
	(American Methodist Episcopal)	
United Provinces	United Theological College (mainly	Saharanpur
	American Presbyterian).	

CHAPTER VI
MEDICAL WORK IN INDIA
INTRODUCTION*

Methods of Study.—For purposes of appraisal it was neither possible nor desirable to make a detailed survey of all medical missions in India and China, but carefully selected samples in various regions were examined thoroughly. These studies were supplemented by the extensive material gathered and tabulated by the Fact-Finding group, as well as by numerous reports and surveys compiled by other bodies.

No individual institutions are dealt with in this report; each hospital has its own particular difficulties and perplexities, which must be met day in and day out by those in charge with all of the resourcefulness, courage and ingenuity at their command. With these local situations the Commissioners have not concerned themselves: they are inevitable in the life of any physician and administrator, and probably in foreign lands are even more baffling and complex than in a familiar environment. No attempt is made in this chapter to describe in comprehensive fashion the great range of work being carried on by medical missions. The excellent handbook published by the Christian Medical Association of India, and various studies of medical missions in China furnish a large amount of illuminating factual material. The Medical Committee of the Commission has confined its inquiry to those problems which seem fundamental to the enterprise as a whole, in an endeavor to analyze their nature, and to relate them to principles which should underlie sound administrative practice.

In general, the medical Commissioners endeavored:

1. To see forms of medical work in differing geographic (ethnic, climatic and language) areas in India and China. Institutions were studied in the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies, the Punjab, North-west Frontier Province, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Assam, Burma and in various parts of South India, including several Native States. The disturbed state of China made it impossible to extend observations to remoter inland districts, but the littoral from

* This Introduction refers to both India and China.

Canton to Shanghai was covered, and hospitals were visited also in the lower Yangtze Valley, Shantung, Hopei and Manchuria.

2. To observe contrasting types of medical activity. It was thought important to examine carefully the adaptation of medical service to rural localities, and to compare the simple hospitals and dispensaries there with larger and more complex institutions in cities and metropolitan areas. The work of Government in medical relief and education was noted, as well as hospitals and other forms of medical and health service carried on by non-Christian organizations.

3. To confer with a wide range of persons,—physicians, nurses, educators, business men, officials and others, Christian and non-Christian,—who because of their experiences, interest or official concern were considered competent to make significant judgments within this special field.

General Considerations.—Although India and China are divergent in many aspects of political, social and economic life, there are nevertheless elements, particularly those related to problems of health and disease, which are common to both and affect in the same way the programs of relief and enlightenment carried on by Christian societies. In India and China alike, enormous peasant populations are living precariously near starvation, almost wholly illiterate, intensely conservative, preyed upon by social and economic forces which they are ill-fitted to combat, and devastated by disabling but preventable diseases. In each country also are found a few great populational concentrations where modern industrial life, with its evils as well as its benefits, is beginning to make itself an inescapable factor in the structure of society. Conditions of this kind determine in the main the development of medical work, set its limitations and explain its difficulties.

The one striking difference between the two countries lies in the extent to which Government has developed hospitals, dispensaries, and professional education in India: the bearing of these notable achievements upon medical missions is dealt with elsewhere in this report. General conditions existing in the two countries make it possible, however, to set forth common principles which should operate in the conduct of medical work under Christian auspices.

OBJECTIVES

Careful thought is being given by mission boards and their supporters to the need of a review and restatement of the purposes and methods of foreign missions in the light of a rapidly changing world

order.* Ministry in a Christ-like spirit to the physical ills of needy people has been from the first a challenge to adventurous service, and has had a response in the interest and support of people everywhere, both within and without the organized church. For a long time in the past, and to a disturbing extent in the present, medical missions have been looked upon, however, mainly as auxiliaries to evangelism, as agencies to placate those otherwise disinclined to listen. The question is now being raised as to what extent medical work should be conducted on the principle that a ministry of healing is justified for its own sake. This is a fundamental problem, to which an unequivocal answer should be given. It is important to recognize the fact that the Christian program in medicine has gradually widened to include far more than the care of the sick in hospitals and dispensaries. It has properly concerned itself with the training of nationals in medicine, in nursing and in other lines ancillary to medical service, with the promotion and operation of agencies dealing with community health, with the prevention of disease and with other forms of welfare work.

It is the conviction of this Commission that medical missions should not serve merely as a means to an end: they are an integral part of the missionary enterprise itself, indispensable not only in fields where other medical care is lacking, but also in some regions served by non-missionary agencies. The use of medical skill for ulterior ends has been rightly challenged, in our judgment, by Mr. Gandhi and other social leaders in India and China, and it is timely to propose a basic policy which takes account of the issues raised by them. We suggest, therefore, that the general aims of medical missionary work be formulated as follows:

1. The care of the sick at a high level of professional excellence, in the spirit of disinterested service.
2. A demonstration of compassionate and equal consideration for all creeds and classes, and of the dignity of lowly tasks.
3. The stimulation of the establishment of similar institutions under local auspices, and coöperation with them.
4. The training whenever possible of internes, nurses, hospital workers and midwives.
5. The creation of, or participation in, agencies for popular medical education, social service, and of health and welfare centers.

It is not possible, of course, for every mission hospital to undertake all of these activities, but they represent objectives which are

* Cf. *Synopsis for a Study of Policies*. Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1931.

being achieved to a greater or less degree by successful mission hospitals which we have seen, and they constitute the distinctive features of a Christian medical program. There is nothing, it will be noted, in these aims which may not properly be sought by any indigenous enterprise, whether private or Governmental, but careful comparisons indicate that Christian hospitals at their best come nearer fulfilling them than those under other control. Continuity of personnel, imperfect as its attainment has been, is also an observable asset of mission hospitals by contrast with those of the Government, particularly in India.

The place of evangelism in the mission hospital cannot be lightly dismissed. From the beginning of organized missions, the securing of converts, the organization of churches, the preaching of the Gospel to pagan peoples have been the core of Christian enterprise in foreign lands. Hospitals were used frankly as a means to that end, and even now—although changes are observable—there is a dependence upon medical work to secure a hearing and to provide opportunities for witness. By many missionaries the use of medical service as an evangelizing device is earnestly defended. They point out that the sick are peculiarly accessible to spiritual comfort, and often seem eager to hear the message brought to them by the evangelist or Bible woman. Countless instances are brought forward to indicate the spiritual fruits of evangelization through the medium of Christian hospitals. On the other hand, enlightened non-Christians frequently do not conceal their scorn for institutions which appear to take advantage of the sick and helpless, who are least able to resist the proselytizing process. They feel it to be a peculiarly insidious form of bribery.

It is not easy to find ground unassailable by those on the one side who charge that hospitals are being conducted improperly as allurements to propagandist ends, and those on the other who are convinced that any mission institution in which the spoken message is not given has degenerated to the level of a devitalized humanitarian enterprise. A gradual change of attitude, however, on the part of many missionary doctors toward evangelizing methods is apparent. Among other questions asked by the Fact-Finding group, inquiry was made as to whether or not the missionary doctor would be willing to remain in China if his work resulted in the healing of the sick, but not in the making of converts: of twenty-six who made unequivocal response, eighteen answered affirmatively, and eight negatively. A question concerning the relative effectiveness of different forms of religious work evoked a judgment favoring the Christian spirit of the

staff as the most effective means of demonstrating the purposes of the service; personal contact with patients by the evangelist was given second place, whereas the influence of religious services and Christian literature came low in the scale. Of special interest was the statement to your Committee of several successful missionary doctors, that they would be glad to have the Government prohibit all definite religious work in hospitals, for in that case they would have to work much harder in order to convey by personal influence and the quality of their professional work the message they desired to preach.

The following principles are offered by the Committee as a basis of religious activities in mission hospitals:

1. The use of medical or other professional service as a direct means of making converts, or as an advantage which can be secured only by listening to preaching or exhortation, is improper.

2. Service rendered in love, responding to conscious need, given without inducement, offering disinterested relief of suffering and sorrow, fulfills with nobility the obligations of the Christian physician to those whom he serves.

3. The spoken word may have its appropriate place in the hospital. It is not possible always to dissociate bodily and spiritual requirements; the wise physician, sensitive to the unspoken desires of his patients, is often through intimate and friendly conversation, able to enlarge and enrich the professional service he has given, and to convey hope and assurance to troubled minds. But time and place and circumstance need to be weighed in this exacting and delicate task.

4. Clear-minded experimentation in the religious phases of hospital work is urgently needed. Much of the so-called evangelistic work is casual and perfunctory; some of it is stupid and unworthy. As a general rule, the hospital evangelist is poorly trained, poorly paid, and too often does his work in a conventional, dull and unimaginative fashion. In any case, evangelistic services in wards and dispensaries from which patients cannot escape, are a subtle form of coercion; on the other hand, visitation in patients' homes by tactful and skilled social workers appears to offer a field of greater promise and of commendable propriety, if not misused for proselytizing purposes.

MEDICAL MISSIONS

- a. *General.*—The small pioneer dispensary usually has been the nucleus around which later a hospital has developed. In it the doctor first gets the confidence of the community, and a hospital is almost

the inevitable sequence; some dispensaries, however, have continued on as independent institutions.

Those unrelated to any hospital, in our opinion, are of questionable value. In the first place, it is difficult for a doctor so situated to maintain the standards of his professional work. He sees most of his patients but once, and then for only a few moments, and is likely to take the easy path of superficiality. In the second place, he is in danger of falsifying the meaning, for others, of good medical work. The patient who needs bed care seldom gets it under satisfactory conditions, and the one requiring operation is likely to receive medical treatment. If some of these patients come to see the true state of affairs, and to feel that they have been deceived, they soon spread to others the conviction that the missionary's medicines—and by indirection, his Gospel—are fallacious and undependable. In making this generalization it is granted that exceptions are to be found, but they are certain to be the reflection of rare capacity and resourcefulness in those who administer them.

b. *The Mission Hospital*.—A discussion of the problems confronting missionaries and board officials in the conduct of medical work may profitably be preceded by the description of an idealized mission hospital with its appropriate auxiliary units, set up as a criterion from which judgments may be derived and upon which appraisal may be validated.

The hospital is the strategic center of medical missions, and deserves careful definition. Certain features differentiate it from non-mission hospitals. In the first place, it is a unified clinical organization, and not merely a professional hotel. Each of its patients, pay or free, is the patient of the Christian Church which makes its services possible: each physician, nurse, orderly, and attendant feels a personal responsibility for the care given to the sick, and in that way the institution demonstrates effectively its Christian character.

In the second place, the worthy mission hospital is sufficiently staffed and equipped to do well the work its undertakes: This means neither elaboration nor luxury, but the firm limitation of work in kind and in quantity according to its capacities of personnel and equipment. No zealous spirit of service, no earnest efforts in evangelism, can atone for known defects in that professional work which is the reason for the hospital's existence.

Location.—The ideal hospital has not been planted where it is because of sentiment, or accident, or for purely personal reasons. It has resulted from thoughtful planning, and a long look ahead, with due regard to its place as an integral part of a well-coördinated

mission group of institutions—churches and schools—and with an eye to relating it in some constructive way to village or rural activities near by. Its work is thought to be important enough to provide staff and facilities for the maintenance of fixed dispensaries and health centers: perhaps even a mobile dispensary unit has been provided, if roads permit, for the visitation of remoter villages, furnishing popular health education through lantern slides, movies and demonstrations, as well as medical relief.

On the other hand, those who are responsible for establishing and maintaining it have faced the fact that no group of church agencies can hospitalize the whole country, conceding that to be the function of Government and other purely indigenous forces. Wise limitations have been set, therefore, not only as to the size of the institution itself, but with respect to its reduplications elsewhere, for the purpose of the hospital is to be a demonstration of Christian good-will, and a leaven of influence throughout an entire community, rather than to provide unlimited medical service.

Types.—The plant and program set forth above have to do with a hospital of a general type—one which includes the care of men, women and children. In addition, special hospitals have an important function to serve. Those for women and children are discussed in the section on India, where purdah in certain areas is an insuperable barrier to general or open-ward hospitals. Sanitaria for the treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy, and eye hospitals, each have contributions of moment to make, not alone on account of benefits to individual patients, but because their educational influence in the community tends gradually to modify social customs that favor the spread of these diseases. To accomplish their full purposes, these institutions will do their work with convincing excellence, keeping the number of patients small, regardless of the demand, in order that the few may be treated in the best possible manner.

Organization and Personnel.—The ideal hospital we have been describing will have been provided with not less than four qualified physicians, secured either by appointment from the home base or by thoughtful selection on the field, if the institution has a maximum of seventy or eighty beds: If it be larger, one member will have been added for every fifty beds. The reason for this is that proper allowance must be made for furloughs, for illness, for research and for outpatient and extramural work. Furloughs for advanced professional training and experience, discussed elsewhere in this report, are of particular importance.

The nurses of the staff will be chosen with the greatest care for

this Christian hospital, because their contacts with the patients are closer even than the doctors', and the impress of personality, of character and of religious experience is correspondingly great. On the basis of a twelve-hour day for permanent nursing staff, and an eight-hour day for pupil nurses (if there be a training school), there will be three general supervisors, and a ward nurse for each five patients. For effective teaching of those in training, an additional graduate nurse for each twenty patients will be needed.

The selection of pupils also will be made with discrimination. Conditions with respect to nursing education differ so greatly in India and China, however, that this topic is dealt with specifically in relation to these countries. Nursing education in Japan, also, has unusual features deserving special comment.

Of vital importance is the choice of attendants, clerks and subordinate personnel, for in their hands oftentimes lies the good name of the hospital and its reputation for considerate and honest dealings with those who seek its help. Many a hospital, doing good work, has been crippled by the cupidity and untrustworthiness of its lesser servants.

It will be acknowledged that in a hospital of this kind there is a place of great usefulness for the semi-professional medical worker in social fields—preferably a nurse—who may contribute to the therapy of patients what the physician or surgeon cannot accomplish. The task of such persons is to deal with the social elements involved in illness and recuperation, to follow up when necessary into homes after discharge, and to do so as a part of the professional team of the institution. Rare qualities of intelligence and insight are necessary for this type of work.

Another essential part of the running equipment of the hospital (which, however modest in scope and design, has set for itself clearly defined standards of professional excellence) is a library of clinical records, with a responsible person in charge. This is no extravagance—it is the means by which alert and progressive doctors build their accumulating experience into clinical wisdom. Of good current literature, likewise, there must be at least a small supply.

Such, in outline form, is the picture of a hospital worthily serving the Christian enterprise. Its standards are attainable, and the best of those now to be found in India and China exemplify them. Many do not; the reasons for their failure to measure up to these simple standards are reviewed in sections on personnel, finance, and the training of nationals. Finally, it is not to be forgotten that the mission hospital usually comes into being by a process of gradual growth,

and that institutions are to be seen on the field today in every stage of evolutionary development. Nevertheless, the ultimate professional level to be achieved should be kept in view constantly by doctors and missionary executives alike, and failure to reach it in due course should demand reëxamination of the value of that unit in the program of Christian work.

I

THE GENERAL SITUATION IN INDIA

The significant problems of mission medical work and its prospects for the future can be shown most clearly against a background of what is being done in the same field by government and other agencies. Mission hospitals were the pioneers in medical relief and for a long time provided practically the only service to be had, but gradually the Government of India initiated various medical activities which have eventuated in a comprehensive and admirable plan of hospitalization. Large and efficient hospitals were established in the great cities, smaller ones of varying quality in lesser places, dispensaries in outlying regions; medical schools and colleges were organized. The plan in its entirety contemplates a complete hospital and medical educational system for British India. Latterly an extensive public health organization has been developing, although its growth is much hampered by financial and political difficulties.

These varied institutions are in no sense indigenous; in design of buildings, in staff organization, in the nature and quality of work they are Western—as they must continue to be—and they represent the best ideals of British medicine, transplanted to an alien and not entirely hospitable environment. Until recently the response to opportunities opened by the Indian Medical Service was made by the highest types of young men from the best schools and hospitals of Great Britain; during the past decade, however, political unrest and the rapid Indianization of government services have greatly modified the number and quality of recruits.

Although the number of hospital beds per 100,000 of population in India is vastly less than those available in progressive regions of the United States or England, any rapid increase is scarcely justified, since however great the need may be, the actual demand—judged by the number of empty beds in the wards we visited—is apparently being well met. Continental British India, unlike Burma or China, has few large areas over which transportation is difficult and slow.

Railways and good roads are numerous and there are comparatively few districts in which patients who wish modern medical treatment cannot reach some hospital. There is an increasing number, also, of well-trained Indian practitioners, scattered throughout India, although practically all are located in cities and larger towns.

It is to be noted that most of the Western doctors and nurses assigned to government hospitals are at least nominally Christian, and that many of them have a warm interest in the people whom they serve. Although on this account the hospitals resemble somewhat those maintained by the Christian forces, in one particular they differ considerably from the mission group in that the Government's policy is to interfere as little as possible with social customs and religious practices. They suffer, therefore, the handicaps involved in such a policy. Among these are:

(a) Caste antagonisms among the non-Christian staff doctors, nurses and employees.

(b) Jealousies due to religious rivalries. Communal prejudices work continuously for the displacement of those of one faith who have desirable posts by the adherents of the other.

(c) Nepotism, frank or subtle, is a baffling problem. The power of the family unit is so great in India that the pressure upon individuals to work their relatives into jobs is almost impossible to resist.

(d) Tipping as a general custom is common and extortionate, and reaches into hospital wards—even the patient who occupies a free bed being likely to find his care expensive. To receive the medicines prescribed or to have his simplest personal needs met he must bribe an employee, sometimes the doctor as well. This is one of the most vexatious of administrative problems in Government hospitals, and mission institutions are occasionally tainted by it.

What effect the plans of Government to turn its hospitals over to Indian personnel will have on professional quality is speculative. Because of the difficulties enumerated above, and because few Indians with natural executive ability have had opportunities to gain experience, it is reasonable to expect that the complete devolution of government medical institutions will be followed by a long period of depressed hospitalization, and that, in turn, by a rising curve of efficiency as the number of capable and experienced Indians increases.

But there are other difficulties to be faced. Government hospitals have been heretofore largely under the control of the Indian Medical Service and its allied organizations, in which professional ability has always been the basis of appointment and usually of promotion. They are now coming gradually into the hands of political groups and their

operation, both administrative and professional, seems likely to be involved with petty politics. The resulting liabilities will probably far outweigh the assets of generous budgets, good equipment and ample personnel, in all of which they exceed the average mission hospital. They are certain to suffer some of the evils common to politically administered institutions—preferment by patronage and the neglect of patients because promotion is not necessarily dependent upon the care given to them. Constant shifting about of professional personnel is another disrupting feature of hospitals operating under such a system.

In addition to mission and Government hospitals the past few decades have seen the appearance in India of four other groups of medical institutions:

First: Hospitals established by large industrial corporations, which, while intended primarily for the benefit of their employees, are open also to the general public. Their staffs frequently are Europeans, and are often Christians, some of whom have a deep concern for the welfare of their patients. The number of these hospitals will doubtless increase with the developing industrialization of India.

Second: Christian medical institutions founded and maintained in part by private funds, comparable to the endowed hospitals and medical colleges of America. The Lady Hardinge Hospital and Medical College for Women at Delhi, various dispensaries and welfare centers, such as the Lady Reading Health Center, are illustrative types. These, as well as the best mission hospitals, are stimulating examples to tax-supported institutions.

Third: Privately built non-Christian institutions, some of which present scientific medicine at its best, such as the Wadia (Parsee) Hospital in Bombay. The presence of Christian institutions, as well as general contacts with the West, we may believe, has suggested their establishment. In some of them the care of the sick poor of all castes would seem, in professional quality and sympathy, to differ little from that of mission institutions.

Fourth: Institutions of indigenous medicine, the Ayurvedic of the Hindus and the Unani of the Moslems,—systems popular because of tradition and religious implications. An increasing number have received support from Government and from wealthy private individuals, and are likely in the future to receive marked preferential treatment from provincial Governments.

Such, in brief, is the background of official medicine in India, and the setting in which the enterprise of medical missions is to be carried on. Certain inferences from its past and present with reference to the

Christian medical program seem justifiable. In the first place, in spite of the imperfections noted above, the Government of India has done much in the creation of hospitals and medical colleges that is praiseworthy, and has given Indians of all classes a widening appreciation of scientific medicine. The intelligent and educated are beginning indeed to note the decreasing efficiency of mission hospitals inadequately financed to meet the demands of advancing medicine, and the failure of their staffs to keep abreast of the progress of medical science. Even the man on the street, in larger cities, begins to sense these defects, and to make judgments on the quality of their medical and surgical work. In the second place, with much of the Government work in medicine facing grave difficulties, it is right that Christian missions should continue to share proportionately in the relief of suffering and the care of the needy in India.

In view of the facts recorded above, we believe the time has come for careful reconsideration by the sending churches of their entire medical mission enterprise, including medical and nursing education, hospitals, dispensaries, the training of midwives, and health education. In reformulating policies, the probable effects of devolution on the system of Governmental medicine and the fate of the comprehensive medical plan so well begun by the Government of India, should be carefully weighed.

The prospective attitude of the Indian Government on health legislation, health conservation, and general health education should also be considered, and plans for the future should take into account the probable creation of more privately financed industrial Christian and non-Christian medical institutions as well as the increasing number of those in which indigenous medicine will be practised, either independently or with state support.

The results of such a survey may indicate the wisdom of abandoning some of the feeblar mission hospitals, unless greater resources are available, and of maintaining fewer but better ones, by redistribution of funds.

II

PROBLEMS OF MEDICAL MISSIONS

1. *Personnel*.—The success of a mission is determined by the kind of people who are in it; medical work in particular needs men and women skilled in their profession, who have charm of personality, and who are patient and adaptable. The problem of finding such

persons is treated elsewhere in this report, and need not be considered here in detail. It appears to be particularly difficult, however, to supply the existing need of mission medical work in India at the present time. The survey made in 1928 jointly by the Christian Medical Association of India and the National Christian Council shows eleven hospitals closed, mainly for lack of staff, although finance plays an important part, and many more temporarily discontinued for the same reasons. A number have been closed for brief periods, also, by reason of illness or furlough. Apart from the limitation of board funds, the recruiting of medical missionaries is hampered, according to the survey, by such things as the lack of an effective appeal by the home base, the abundance of opportunities for young doctors in the homelands, the absence of ardent motivation, the general knowledge that equipment and support of mission hospitals are inadequate, the fear of unknown responsibilities, and unwillingness to do general rather than specialized work. One or another of these causes probably lies at the bottom of most of the trouble in finding the right kind of men and women for the appealing adventure in love and service represented by a medical missionary career. Their existence emphasizes the need of a fresh approach to the selection of candidates at the home base, to concentration and coöperation in medical work on the field, and to improvements in the equipment, staffing and finance of selected institutions.

The boards concerned in this study have recognized adequately the importance of assuring themselves that their medical candidates have been thoroughly trained in a first-class medical school. Few, however, have laid sufficient emphasis upon the necessity of keeping their missionaries currently in touch with the advances of medical science, through furlough studies and short periods of special work in India. This is one of the reasons why your Commissioners urge a larger professional staff for certain mission hospitals, even at the sacrifice of a number of the weaker ones. Candidate secretaries in general have not properly assessed the supreme importance of presenting Christianity through gracious and cultured personalities; a handful of men and women of such a type—and we have seen them—are worth more for the Christian impress upon individual and community life than scores of mediocrities, however great their zeal and piety.

Are more medical missionaries needed in India? If existing institutions are to be effectively staffed, or if extension is to be undertaken, the answer will be in the affirmative. A word of caution is needed on this point. It is not wise to perpetuate a hospital merely because

it has been established; the Christian enterprise will be better off in the end by discarding feeble institutions, struggling hopelessly with insuperable difficulties, and fewer medical missionaries who lack inherent impressiveness in personality and professional skill. Certainly no expansion should take place until the hospitals which show signs of promise have been built up to a satisfactory basis.

Such drastic measures cannot be carried out on the field; the intimate relationships that exist between missionaries, the pull of tradition and the drag of inertia, combine to bar effective action. Detached objective and concrete self-appraisal are impossible. Far-reaching changes in policy and organization seem essential to bring about the desired results.

2. *Organization*.—(a) *General*. The Christian Medical Association of India is the most important coördinating agency for medical missions now available, although, regrettably, only 40 per cent. of those listed as medical missionaries in India are members. Since its reorganization a few years ago and its integration with the National Christian Council through an alert and capable executive secretary, the Association has done much to promote a community of ideas and fellowship in the profession, and is extending constantly the scope of its service. Much more might be done by this organization if a modest addition were made to its working budget. The secretary should be able to travel widely over the field, to maintain frequent touch with hospital centers, to finance conferences of important committees, to issue a monthly journal, to organize and direct surveys, and to act as a general clearing agent in matters of concern to the medical missionary forces.

(b) *Home Base*. Several of the boards related to this study have created special administrative machinery for dealing with their medical missionary programs. The scope of work directed by these secretaries is wide: they keep in close contact with the field; study and submit medical needs; arrange for the physical examinations of missionaries on leave and outgoing candidates; help in planning post-graduate work for doctors on furlough; and attempt, as best they can, to coördinate the varied medical activities of their societies. The trivialities of denominationalism, however, have thus far prevented any thoroughgoing amalgamation of this costly but valuable enterprise, and have resulted in a scattering of energies and aimlessness of effort.

3. *Hospital Types*.—A description has already been given (*supra*) of the principal forms of medical service which the Commissioners believe should come within the scope of missionary effort. It is

important, however, to add some observations on hospitals serving upper-class Indian women who are kept in strict seclusion (purdah). While there is evidence that purdah, along with other social and religious customs, is beginning to disintegrate, particularly in the larger cities, it is nevertheless observed strictly by a large fraction of the population, both Hindu and Mohammedan. As long as it continues to be determinative for so many there will be a demand for women's hospitals, which cater to its requirements. The effects of purdah are pernicious in favoring the spread of disease and hampering recovery, to say nothing of other social impediments which it perpetuates; the gradual erosion of changing social usages will eradicate it; but in the meantime there is a definite call to the Christian enterprise for relief. The situation is much more urgent in Northern India than in the South, and hospitals for women naturally predominate in the North.

In the judgment of the Commissioners it will be wise for these hospitals to adopt a policy which will keep them slightly in advance of the flow of social change, alert to seize every opportunity of amending what is generally admitted to be a harmful and dissocial practice.

4. *The Use and Training of Nationals*.—In hospitals and dispensaries. Very few Indians are to be found in posts of responsibility in mission hospitals. Nearly every institution has one or more assistants working in frankly subordinate capacities at small salaries and without prospects of advancement. These individuals are practically all of sub-assistant surgeon grade, the product of low-grade medical schools. In one or two hospitals observed there were fully qualified Indians recognized as partners in the enterprise. The Union Tuberculosis Sanitarium at Arogyavaram is a notable example of Indianization on a high professional, social and ethical plane.

There are certain factors which have definitely hampered the devolutional processes in Christian medical work:

(a) *Financial Difficulties*.—Boards and missions are reluctant to pay mission salaries to highly qualified Indians, or to give them missionary appointments. There are exceptions, but they are so few as to be negligible. There is usually no objection to paying comparatively large salaries, provided they can be met from field income, but this is often difficult to manage. If the earning power of the Indian doctor in mission hospitals is great, the financial solution is easy; but this is not usually the case, although little can be known of the possibilities until more evidence is available.

(b) *Scarcity of available candidates*.—Mission hospitals, by comparison with government institutions, are greatly handicapped in

this respect. It is not only a matter of remuneration, but of outlook toward responsible participation in the work, and of social recognition. There are certainly qualified Indian Christian doctors to be had. In one excellent hospital, also, it was noted that the senior assistant physician was a fully qualified high-caste Hindu, whose attitude toward the work nevertheless was thoroughly sympathetic and helpful.

(c) *Invidious comparisons*.—The entry of an Indian physician upon terms of essential equality with his European colleagues is likely to raise embarrassing and delicate mission problems with reference to the status and pay of pastors, teachers and other trained workers. These are situations sensed rather than seen, for there are few places where actual comparisons can be made.

(d) *Administrative Difficulties*.—Sharing administrative and financial responsibility presents serious complications. The foreigner can do many things because of his detachment from the pressure of indigenous social and family usages, that his Indian colleague would find all but impossible to undertake.

(e) *Social handicaps*.—A thoroughgoing process of Indianization implies sharing or transfer of genuine responsibility in all phases of the hospital program. There are many missionary physicians who see no worth or wisdom in going so far as this. There is some evidence of racial bias, frank or covert. A general impression exists that potential leaders are so few that it is scarcely worth while attempting experiments in that direction.

This is a topic which, in spite of its delicacy, needs open discussion and sober thought. If there is not an earnest, conscious effort to seek and develop responsible leadership among Indian Christians in medical enterprises, missionaries will be failing in a fundamental obligation. It seems obvious that, given equivalent character, training and experience, Indian physicians should be given preference in appointment to the staffs of Christian hospitals. This does not mean, of course, that the management should be turned over to untried men, inexperienced in administrative responsibility; to do so would be unfair to the institution and the individual alike. An honest effort to create genuine partnerships and to share burdens, however, should be made. It should be recognized, moreover, in the progress of devolution, that equivalent responsibilities call for professional and social equality, and for compensation that shall be essentially equal.

5. *Medical Education*.—In 1923 the Government of India transferred medical education to provincial control. It continues to participate, however, through the Indian Medical Service, Civil Division,

many of the members of which are assigned to teaching duties as well as to hospital service.

The report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India (1928) lists ten colleges of medicine in British India and twenty-three government schools of medicine. Three schools have closed since that date. The enrollment in the colleges that year was 3,693 men and 260 women, and in the schools 5,623 men and 244 women, a total of 9,820 medical students of whom 504 were women. Of the total approximately 7 per cent. were classified as Christians, but the proportion of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in this number, and of the Catholics and Protestants, was not obtainable.

There is a wide difference between colleges and schools in respect to standards of admission, length and character of curricula, and the formal qualifications granted. Colleges of medicine are organically related to universities, require two years of university courses antecedent to four years of medical instruction, and confer baccalaureate degrees in medicine and science. (MB.B.S.) Medical schools, on the other hand, enroll students who have passed the university matriculation examinations, provide four years of instruction—qualitatively at a level quite below that of the colleges—leading to examinations for licensure: (LCP & S, LMP, etc.).

The comparatively low standards of medical education in India are the result of various circumstances. Reference has already been made to the effects of hasty devolution in the Indian Medical Service, and growing difficulties in recruitment. Inflexible bureaucratic organizations, recent severe retrenchments, frequent shifting of important personnel, part-time teaching and preoccupation of staff members with private practice, all tend to depress the educational level and to create a casual and even commercial atmosphere in colleges otherwise well equipped for their purpose.

The lower-grade schools were devised to supply large numbers of practitioners who would presumably supply, in practical and inexpensive fashion, the needs of an immense population unable to afford more highly trained service, and who would eventually filter out into small towns and rural areas. This expectation has not been fulfilled; the consequence is that the great cities are overcrowded with men of widely differing professional preparation bitterly competing with one another and with *vaid*s and *hakeems* (practitioners of indigenous medicine) for a bare living. There is a growing doubt of the value of the low-grade schools, and the prospect is that as soon as the colleges can be strengthened, an effort will be made to dispense with schools altogether.

Mission Medical Schools.—There are three schools conducted under mission auspices in India, two for women (at Ludhiana in the Punjab and at Vellore in the Madras Presidency) and one for men at Miraj, in a small native state of the Bombay Presidency on the West Coast.

Miraj Medical School, founded in 1892 by Dr. W. G. Wanless, is mainly a project of the American Presbyterian Mission, although efforts are being made to widen it to a genuine union enterprise. The graduates have been almost entirely men who have come from a humble social level and have been trained practically or wholly at mission expense, with the expectation that they would serve as helpers and assistants in one or another of the mission hospitals. This function has been served by the school with reasonable effectiveness, and with a thoroughly fine devotion under difficult conditions. Its weaknesses are obvious. Support is derived almost wholly from hospital incomes (from surgical fees, in fact), the internal organization is faulty, the equipment meager, the staff is ill-balanced and the student body far below the intellectual and educational level from which genuine leadership may be expected.

The school for women at Ludhiana, established in 1896 by Dr. Edith Brown, is carrying on a program of essentially the same character, although its equipment on the whole is better than that at Miraj. Its maintenance is precariously dependent in large part on grants from the Punjab Government which have an uncertain future, since they may be drastically reduced at any time, or made conditional upon terms which the Principal will not accept, or they may be wholly withdrawn if the Government decides to open its own training center for women. The general atmosphere educationally is that of a secondary school, stifling to individual initiative, and unlikely to produce responsible leadership.

At Vellore in South India, the medical school for women is housed in excellent buildings and the physical equipment is superior to that of the other two institutions. It is unfortunate that the new and elaborate school buildings are remote from the hospital. There is a hope and expectation that this institution will attain collegiate standing in the near future, but its financial foundation is insecure, and much remains to be done in building up teaching departments, particularly in the basic medical sciences, before it attains the realities of a high-level medical college.

While in the training of assistants for Christian and Government hospitals and dispensary service these three institutions have met a genuine need with moderate success, the time has come for consider-

ing a higher type of medical education for both men and women. Other and less costly methods of evoking potential leadership in medicine have been weighed and may properly be discarded. The organization of Christian hostels attached to Government colleges would miss the main point,—that of a constructive contribution to professional education, and the sending abroad of carefully selected Christians for complete training has not worked well in actual experience.

Proposed Christian Medical College for Men.—An important project is now being promoted by the Christian Medical Association of India, through a special committee. The following assertions, in brief, are put forth by the committee as justifying the establishment of a superior type of medical college:

1. The ministry of healing is an essential part of the whole Christian testimony.
2. The Christian Church cannot be satisfied with less than the best.
3. The claims of devolution in Christian hospitals are urgent.
4. There is a lack of Christian doctors in rural areas.
5. There are difficulties involved for Christian students in acquiring their training in Governmental medical colleges.
6. It is desirable to raise general standards, professionally, ethically and scientifically.
7. The spiritual nurture of Christian medical students is of the utmost importance.

To these claims there should be added two others, which, although they are not included in the presentation formulated by the committee of the Christian Medical Association, seem to the Commissioners to be apposite:

8. It would be advantageous to India as a whole to have a superior medical college fully free from political and other Governmental impediments.

9. Helpful contributions to medical mission and missionaries (apart from turning out Christian graduates for their hospitals) might be expected from such an institution; post-graduate courses, extension work, library facilities, coöperation in research, could be set up.

Critical examination of these proposals raises certain questions:

(a) One may concede freely that medical service is an essential part of the Christian enterprise and that the Church should not be satisfied with less than the best, and still be uncertain that the investment of large funds in professional education is proportionate to the requirements of the Christian program as a whole.

(b) The claims of devolution may be urgent, but how far they are to be met by an additional college of medicine is wholly a different matter. Indianization is not a simple question, the answer to which may be found by graduating a few Christian doctors annually. Its solution will depend upon how far boards, missions, and missionary physicians find themselves in accord with the principles laid down in section 4 (The use and training of nationals).

(c) It is true that there is a lack of Indian Christian doctors in rural areas. The need exists, but is there a demand, and are rural communities able to support them? Those serving in the country would have to have a sacrificial devotion to the point of living on the simplest levels and in many places they would have to be subsidized by mission funds. There seems to be no evidence that more than a few could be found and developed who would spontaneously commit themselves to this type of work. The Indian is peculiarly open to family claims in money matters, and a medical training of the sort contemplated has a high monetary value.

Most of the Christian students have to be aided through their course in any case by mission money, and they might be assigned for a period of years in rural service as a method of repayment. It seems unlikely, however, that such a system would evoke the spontaneity, devotion and loyalty sufficient to success.

The difficulty of utilizing Government medical colleges as a training-ground for Christian service is a real one, and this fact, together with the arguments for raising general standards, for the maintenance of a high-grade institution free from political and financial complications which hamper the Government colleges, and for a center offering graduate work, research facilities and scientific literature to medical missionaries generally, makes a strong case for the carrying out of the proposed scheme. Approval must be tempered, however, by consideration of the following points:

(a) The maintenance costs of an institution of the type contemplated would be very large—much too great for missionary societies to carry; the expense of the physical plant and its upkeep would likewise be disproportionate to the scale of missionary enterprises in general. If resources adequate for building and an endowment sufficient to cover a minimum budget at the required level, can be found, it should be from donors who would not be interested in giving to the usual purposes of missions; otherwise it would tend to divert funds from equally urgent but different needs of the Christian program. The Commissioners feel that it would be unsound, moreover, to attempt to build up a work of such magnitude and sig-

nificance on a piecemeal basis. It would be better not to attempt it at all than to have to depend on recurring appeals for support, or on the insecure foundation of annual subscriptions.

(b) It should be borne in mind, in any case, that there are implications of a heavy call on mission funds for the future, if the major premises of the Commission's plan are fulfilled; for, if highly qualified doctors are to be supplied to mission hospitals in response to the urge for devolution, they must be paid much better than the assistants now employed, and if they should go out in any great numbers into rural work (which is unlikely, in our judgment), an additional burden will inevitably be laid upon mission boards already staggering under financial difficulties.

(c) The plan to make up a staff for the kind of an institution prescribed, by coöpting missionaries from the field and supplementing them by missionary appointments of the home boards and by securing specially trained Indian members, is full of difficulties. The finding and retaining of a balanced staff of experienced teachers is a sufficiently perplexing problem in highly endowed American medical schools; and when one takes into account the limitations of low missionary salaries, scientific isolation, the hazards of climate, and the necessity of evangelistic motive, in selecting a staff, the program on its present basis seems illusory. It is unlikely that the best in medical education, if by that is meant a direct comparison with first-class schools abroad, can be attained without some degree of secularization, and on a basis differing widely from that conventionally followed by mission organizations.

(d) A quantitative and qualitative survey of potential student material should be made. Little seems to be known as to the possibility of drawing under instruction Indian Christians who have high capacity for independent scholarship. It is anticipated that they will be comparatively few in number, at any rate, in the beginning, and that the student body will be made up mainly of non-Christians. It is important, however, to have some idea of the ultimate prospects of producing Christian leaders of creative scientific ability. In this connection it should be known whether or not it is planned to make scholastic concessions to Christian applicants as compared with Hindu or Mohammedan candidates, as is said to be done in some of the Christian colleges.

(e) Finally, a careful preliminary study of the problems of organization, of staff and of the maintenance of a modern teaching hospital, should be completed before the enterprise is undertaken.

Medical Colleges for Women.—At Ludhiana a hope was expressed that the institution might attain college grade, but its organization, staff and equipment, its dependence upon uncertain Government subsidies, and other phases of its financial structure, make any such expectation questionable. Other excellent agencies for the higher medical education of women now exist, at least, in North India.

The school at Vellore is a favorable nucleus upon which to build a higher type of medical instruction, although there are special difficulties to be met here as anywhere in making an abrupt change in the educational program of a going concern. As to whether or not it would be wise to carry on two sorts of medical education concurrently in the same institution, we should say emphatically that it would not.

Thoughtful consideration should be given to several questions in case the plan for raising the educational level at Vellore is pursued further. Lack of funds for additional staff and equipment is an immediate deterrent, but if a scheme of development should be financed, the following steps would be indicated:

- (a) Relinquishing Government subsidies;
- (b) The reorganization of the governing body;
- (c) A movement, when feasible, to amend the error of separating by a distance of several miles the college and hostels from the teaching hospital.

The reasons for these recommendations are that Government subventions are relatively small compared with the total budget, and are not wholly dependable, while at the same time they involve burdensome limitations and red tape.

The reorganization of the governing council is suggested. It is now a large and unwieldy body made up of one, or usually two, representatives of coöperating missions, each of which contributes annually a small sum to the operating expenses. In addition, there are eight coöpted members. There is not enough continuity in this organization, and the election of its members is made without special reference to their familiarity and experience with educational, professional or administrative matters. In our opinion the annual contributions from missions should not be the basis for a choice of trustees. If grants are continued at all they should represent only the interest and voluntary coöperation of missions which are being helpfully served by the college.

The separation of the pre-clinical and clinical teaching groups is unsound. It may be tolerated as a necessity for the present, but should be corrected as soon as it is possible to do so.

6. *Nursing Education*.—The training of nurses, in spite of slow progress and many discouragements, is one of the most important responsibilities of medical missionary work. The majority of Indian trained nurses come from the Christian community and from mission hospitals. The chief impediments to success are:

(a) *Social*.—Any type of work thought to be menial, or to involve close personal contacts, especially with those of low caste, or out-caste, is repugnant to well-born Indian girls. The feeling that nursing is somehow degrading spreads over readily to Christian adherents—among whom caste distinctions are presumably frowned upon—and affects even those who are not really high-born. It is not easy, on this account, to secure the most intelligent and promising girls for training. The heads of girls' schools are often reluctant to see their graduates go into nursing, and reserve their encouragement for the stupid and unsuccessful one.

The minimum age generally agreed upon for probationers is seventeen, obviously too young, but difficult to change on account of early marriages.

(b) *Moral*.—Another phase of the social problem lies in the sudden exposure of these young girls, fresh from the hothouse protection of school, to the freer atmosphere of hospital work and life. An unwholesome psychology, the inheritance of age-long custom and tradition, permeates this general situation, gradual relief from which may be expected to come only with the growing freedom and education of Indian women, and their emergence into a new social estate. In the meantime, consistent instruction in sex hygiene and a reasonable degree of safeguarding appear to be indicated, bearing in mind that over-protection contributes little or nothing to the acquisition of moral stamina and independence. It is interesting to see the astonishing results which have been achieved in training Khasi Christian girls in Assam,—members of a hill tribe having an attenuated form of matriarchy. Inspired and patient teaching has brought these young women to the point where they undertake freely anything that a nurse might be expected to do for a patient anywhere in the world. That point lies far ahead for the Indian girl who must endure the burden of centuries of restrictive social usage, but progress is slowly being made, and within a few years the situation is likely to improve greatly.

(c) *Economic*.—A large number of candidates enter training wholly for economic reasons, either because a stipend is available during the course, or because it is a means of livelihood until a marriage can be arranged. Although these motives are natural and under-

standable, they are somewhat remote from the altruistic urge of Christian service, or of ambition to learn and adorn an important profession. The consequence is that their work lacks the spirit and zest that higher motivation gives.

(d) *Educational*.—With few notable exceptions, the requirement for entrance to a training school is middle school pass, and in most institutions instruction is in the vernacular. The reasons why so low a standard is maintained have been outlined in the preceding sections; the encouraging fact in an otherwise gloomy situation is that changes for the better are already observable. Here and there, under circumstances favorable for one reason or another, usually through the courage and vigor of some outstanding personality, the levels are rising and rewarding results are appearing.

Summing up the status of nursing education, the Commissioners urge that in mission hospitals, properly staffed and equipped for doing so, intensive efforts be made to develop training on a rising scale of requirements and standards. Not every institution should attempt it: only those possessing unusual resources of plant, personnel, and perseverance have significant contributions to make. Prudence, daring, imaginative experimentation and philosophic patience are all required. The eventual outcome for India will lie in the training of women, as it has been for the rest of the advancing world, and the training of male nurses should be looked upon as an expedient of doubtful and temporary value.

7. *Midwives*.—The training of midwives is coming increasingly into the province of Government, and registration machinery has been established or is under way in several of the provinces. In a majority of the training courses special provision is made for this subject, and there appear to be no problems of particular significance so far as the modern type of midwife is concerned. In the case of indigenous, out-style midwives (*dais*), the outlook is far from hopeful. Lying-in among Hindus is ordinarily supervised, under the sanctions of tradition and religion, by these ignorant and filthy old women, who are for the most part illiterate, refractory and opaque to instruction. Yet the conditions for which they are largely responsible are so distressing that not a few courageous and devoted missionaries have set themselves the hard task of training this unpromising material. This is usually done by paying individuals to come for simple oral instruction and to agree to some degree of supervision in their cases. In some of the experiments observed, the results are encouraging, but a wide view of the situation suggests an effort to drain the

sea with a teacup. In the course of time, replacement of *dais* by properly trained midwives, compulsory registration, and a widening apprehension of the perils of the old system will alleviate matters. Meanwhile, the urgency of modern training for a more intelligent class of women is apparent, and mission hospitals, whenever possible, should make this a part of their program.

8. *Finance*.—Illuminating comments on mission-hospital finance are made in the handbook recently issued by the Christian Medical Association of India.

"It was found by the Survey Committee in 1928 that about 62 per cent. of the maintenance budgets of hospitals was met by local receipts. In this connection it was pointed out, however, that under local receipts many institutions list gifts from the West and endowments for beds from the same source. Just what the proportion of these aids is could not be determined, but it would seem to be a fairly large amount.

"Missionaries' salaries and allowances are not included in the budgets with the exception of a few instances. Were they added to the column of 'Foreign Receipts,' its total would be greatly increased, for there are some 313 doctors and 279 nurses from the sending countries, representing an expenditure in itself of well over Rs.2,000,000.

"Government Grants-in-Aid or grants from Municipalities and Local Boards for upkeep are neither numerous nor large, considering the capital invested and the service rendered. In the future, less help rather than more may be expected.

"Self-support is the goal that every institution conducted by medical missions has had to strive for. Funds from the sending churches have tended to diminish materially in recent years. On the other hand, most hospitals have continued to grow in size and expand in their activities to meet the needs that opportunity provided. The additional funds thus required have had to come in almost all cases from increased fees.

"It does not require a strained imagination to see the untoward results that must ensue. In a country where the per capita income is stated to be only about Rs.225 a year, poverty is and must be appalling. The requirements for free medical aid are probably greater than anywhere on earth. That, under such circumstances, hospitals have to strive to become self-supporting, is an unnatural demand. In spite of this, a few of the larger and older hospitals with widespread reputations have managed to meet all of their expenses by

local receipts. Their example should not prejudice mission boards to the belief that the same goal can or should be reached by all.”*

The handbook goes on to suggest that the solution of the problem lies in giving more adequate support to all mission hospitals, by larger annual grants or through endowments. The Commissioners do not wholly approve of these proposals, but submit the following general recommendations regarding hospital finance:

(a) It should be recognized as a principle that every patient who is able to do so should pay something for the service he receives. On the other hand, no needy person should be turned away because he has nothing.

(b) Even in countries with high per capita wealth no general service hospital is expected fully to pay its own way, and deficits are regularly made up by gifts and subscriptions, or by income from endowments. A mission hospital which has built up a wealthy and generous clientele may be expected to go far toward meeting its running costs, but not to the point which necessitates denying its service to those who need it most. A general policy of requiring all mission hospitals to attain self-support is wrong, in our judgment. Hospitals which are maintaining high standards, but because of the region in which they work, or the economic condition of the people they serve, cannot reasonably be expected to meet expenses fully on the field, should have aid. Those not up to standard should be closed.

(c) Endowments for smaller hospitals, if specific, are not justified. The emphasis in such an institution should be on the man rather than on the hospital. In the case of a large organization, or of a teaching hospital, the situation is wholly different; the flavor of individualism is blended into an institutional personality, and success or failure does not depend upon one person. For these more complex and costly enterprises endowments should be set up whenever possible, safeguarded by the reservation of authority in the boards to divert the income to other ends whenever changed conditions make it appear wise to do so.

g. *Relation to the Indian Church.*—The attitude of the organized church toward Christian hospital work has been disappointing, judging by the almost universal testimony of missionary doctors. It is felt by many that in the West the church has mistakenly abandoned to secular and Governmental forces what it should have retained as a part of its own work, and the hope is expressed that the developing

* Manuscript furnished the Commission through the courtesy of the Executive Secretary, C.M.A.I.

Indian church, as it grows in strength and self-consciousness, will accept the responsibility of the medical program now carried on by missions. There is little prospect, however, that the church as now constituted will do so. Modern medicine is Western, in the first place, and will continue to be so for some generations, and hospitals effectively conducted are too costly, in the second place, to be within the range of support of the average Indian congregation.

There is a wide-spread attitude among Indian Christians, moreover, that the service of Christian hospitals is more of a perquisite to be enjoyed by church members than a responsibility to be shouldered. In part this arises from the old mission custom of preferential treatment for converts—still followed in many cases. Generally speaking, missionary doctors have more trouble with their Christian clientele than with others, and are constantly beset by their complaints and appeals for free care on account of church membership. Sporadic efforts are made to organize hospital committees, usually of an advisory character, in which Indian Christians are represented, but they seldom take a genuine share in the work, and their usefulness at the present stage is doubtful. The probability is that no real transfer of obligation will take place until the Indian church begins to absorb new social units, and to draw its membership from more socially minded, as well as more prosperous types.

10. *New Forms of Work.*—There has been much discussion in recent years of the value of public health work and preventive medicine in mission hospitals. Its importance is undeniable, and much can be done by them, not only as a part of their own program, but as a supplement to the work being carried on by semi-public municipal and private non-Christian organizations already active in this field. Every effort to promote health education, to apply principles of disease prevention, to extend medicine into social fields is desirable and praiseworthy. It is easy to say that more attention should be paid to it, and more preventive work undertaken by mission hospitals, but it is a different matter to expect much from a hospital staff already overburdened with demands for the care of the sick, and preoccupied with the necessity of balancing the hospital budget by local income. The practice of preventive medicine does not, like operations, pay hospital wages and upkeep. A mission institution, in order to take any significant part in this growingly urgent task, needs sufficient income on the one hand to free one or two workers from the other duties, and on the other hand trained and intelligent personnel who really know the technique of health education. Efforts should be

focused primarily upon mothers and upon school children; little is to be expected from the training of adults, especially in a peasant population, or among submerged urban groups.

III

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

A. *Personnel*

1. Candidates for medical missionary service should be scrutinized with special care, and much greater weight should be given to qualifications of personality and cultural background.

2. Particular attention should be paid to planning and assisting with furlough studies, and provision be made, as far as possible, for brief periods of advanced work in India.

3. Although existing mission hospitals are obviously understaffed, no large number of new appointments is proposed, on the ground that concentration is urgent, and that curtailment of some of the work is indicated. Carefully selected hospitals, however, call for strengthening in staff and money.

4. The reorganizations involved in such a policy can be carried, but only at the home base, and are outlined in the Report.*

B. *Organization*

1. Assistance to the Christian Medical Association of India is needed for its work of coördinating and integrating medical mission activities.

C. *Hospital Types*

1. As a general policy it is recommended that hospitals dealing with harmful socio-religious customs, such as purdah, should press gradual changes and keep in advance of public opinion, rather than behind it.

D. *Training of Nationals*

1. Given equivalent training, experience and character, Indian physicians should be given preference in appointment to staffs of Christian hospitals.

2. Equivalent responsibilities call for professional and social equality, and for compensation essentially equal to that of the European.

* See "Re-Thinking Missions," Chap. XIV.

E. *Medical Education*

Men.—The following items should be weighed before approval of the organization of a high-grade medical college is given:

1. The costs of maintenance would be disproportionate to the general scale of missionary enterprises, and if the plan is carried further, it must be financed from sources not otherwise accessible to missionary appeal. It should be undertaken, furthermore, only in case an endowment sufficient to meet a minimum adequate level of operation is in hand.

2. If such a college should be created and should fulfill successfully the premises laid down for it, larger demands from mission boards for the Christian hospital program are inevitable.

3. A college of this type probably cannot be organized and maintained without some degree of secularization, upon a basis out of accord with conventional mission practice.

4. More accurate information is needed concerning the availability of Christian candidates of high promise, and the necessity of their support by mission funds through the period of their training. Preliminary studies in detail of staff and maintenance of a modern teaching hospital should be completed before the enterprise is begun.

5. The Commissioners are of the opinion that if the foregoing questions could be satisfactorily settled, the establishment of a first-class medical college under Christian auspices, free of all of the difficulties inherent in similar institutions under Government control, would be markedly beneficial to educational and scientific standards of medicine in India.

Women.—1. The Christian Medical School at Vellore should be raised to college grade if funds sufficient to guarantee proper maintenance of staff and equipment can be secured, but other steps are indicated—relinquishment of Government subsidy, reorganization of the governing body, and relating clinical and preclinical units more closely than at present.

F. *Nursing Education*

1. In mission hospitals properly staffed and equipped, intensive efforts should be made to develop nursing education on a rising scale of requirements and standards.

2. The training of male nurses should be looked upon as a temporary expedient.

G. *Finance*

1. As a principle, patients able to do so should pay something,

however small it may be, for service received. But no needy person should be turned away because he has nothing to give.

2. A general policy of requiring all mission hospitals to attain local self-support is unsound.

3. Endowments for small hospitals are not justified, but for large and complex institutions, and teaching hospitals, they are proper and necessary.

4. Only hospitals representing full effectiveness in equipment and operation should be financed with American money. Those not up to standard should be closed, and the staff utilized in a program of concentration elsewhere.

H. *New Work*

1. Emphasis upon public health and preventive medicine is needed, but can be properly handled only in hospitals financed and staffed for such marginal work. If a policy of concentration is adopted, this is a need which should be met.

2. Effort in health education should be focused upon school children and mothers.

COLLATERAL DATA

Excerpts from "Medical Work in India," Fact-Finders' Reports, Fred J. Wampler, M.D.

Many of the mission and private hospitals, with their beds, in-patients, and out-patients, are included in the figures of the four following tables. Only those mission and private hospitals, which, for one reason or another, do not report to the Government are left out. The figures, therefore, include a very large per cent. of the hospitals and dispensaries found in the provinces of British India. Hospitals, however, run by municipalities are not included in these figures.

The number of medical institutions and beds per 100,000 of population in the various Provinces:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Beds</i>
Bombay	3.5	37.8
Bengal	2.5	12.9
Central Provinces	2.4	14.5
Madras	2.7	22.2
United Provinces	1.2	14.2
Punjab	5.0	37.6
Assam	3.3	14.3
Northwest Frontier Province ...	4.3	48.7

The population of the provinces in 1931, with the number of dispensaries and hospitals for each province and the number of beds for 1928:

<i>Population 1931</i>	<i>Provinces</i>	<i>Dispensaries and Hospitals</i>	<i>BEDS</i>		
			<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
21,102,126	Bombay	668	4,497	2,820	7,317
49,997,376	Bengal	1,156	3,934	2,079	6,013
15,472,628	Central Provinces	340	1,270	750	2,020
46,731,850	Madras	1,128	5,309	4,081	9,390
48,423,264	United Provinces	563			6,439
23,580,520	Punjab	1,026	4,316	3,467	7,783
8,784,943	Assam	252	781	303	1,084
37,590,356	Bihar and Orissa	673	2,577	1,322	3,899
2,423,380	Northwest Frontier	97	708	388	1,096
254,106,443		5,903	23,392	15,210	45,041
	<i>Indian States</i>				
2,442,924	Baroda State	91			
5,090,462	Travancore	82			
6,554,573	Mysore	215			
268,194,402		6,291			

The number of in-patients, male, female and children in the Government hospitals and dispensaries in the different provinces during the year 1928.

Province	IN-PATIENTS			Total
	Male	Female	Children	
Bombay	61,399	36,243	9,450	107,092
Bengal	60,034	26,139	7,630	93,803
Central Provinces	19,352	9,254	3,775	32,381
Madras	103,464	70,520	13,738	187,722
United Provinces	60,762	34,450	9,884	105,096
Punjab	89,688	62,951	20,663	173,302
Assam	10,451	2,381	754	13,586
Bihar and Orissa	40,393	16,453	5,856	62,702
Northwest Frontier	14,167	4,523	2,364	21,054
	459,710	262,914	74,114	796,738

The number of out-patients, male, female and children in the Government hospitals and dispensaries in the different provinces during the year 1928:

Province	OUT-PATIENTS			Total
	Male	Female	Children	
Bombay	1,707,709	824,036	1,277,517	3,809,262
Bengal	3,616,282	1,098,547	1,434,133	6,148,962
Central Provinces	1,302,971	427,215	831,099	2,561,885
Madras	5,701,580	2,729,033	3,234,627	11,665,240
United Provinces	3,026,630	1,149,074	1,694,438	5,870,142
Punjab	4,657,381	2,402,726	3,557,031	10,617,138
Assam	1,094,593	283,909	345,321	1,723,823
Bihar and Orissa	2,984,799	987,724	1,423,252	5,395,775
Northwest Frontier	666,981	181,792	298,204	1,146,977
	24,758,926	10,084,056	14,096,222	48,939,204

WESTERN PRACTICE

Medical Missionaries.—In the *Prayer Cycle* published by the Christian Medical Association of India, dated August, 1930, there is a list of foreign doctors in service in the mission hospitals in India. From this list it would seem there are about 373 foreign medical men and women assigned to India. Some of these are home on furlough and some few are retired. From the records it is impossible to determine the sex of thirty of these; but of the remainder, 133 are men and 210 are women. About this same number of Indian sub-assistant surgeons are working in these hospitals.

Distribution of the Physicians.—The number of doctors per 100,000 in the Provinces in the 1921 Census are distributed as follows:¹

Bombay	21	(1 to 4,761)
Bengal	11.8	
Punjab	11	
Assam	6.5	
Madras	5.6	(1 to 17,857)
Bihar and Orissa	4.9	
United Provinces	3.3	
Central Provinces	2.8	(1 to 35,714)

It will thus be seen that Bombay Presidency has the highest percentage

¹ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 11.

of doctors to the population, or one to every 4,761. In Central Provinces there is only one to every 35,714.

In India, even more than in America, the qualified medical practitioners are concentrated in the cities and larger towns. Everything that tends to cause such concentration in America is present, and operating more intensively, in India; and in addition there is the extreme poverty of the rural people which makes it impossible in most cases for a doctor to make a satisfactory living in village practice.

There are registered in Bombay Presidency, 3,703 physicians who now reside somewhere in that province. Of these, 1,256, or more than one-third, are located within Bombay City. A majority of the others are in cities like Poona, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Karachi, etc. In Bengal Presidency, with a population in 1931 of 49,997,376, there are 5,988 registered physicians. Of these, 1,727 are in Calcutta and suburbs, where in 1921 there was a population of almost 1 1/3 millions. Colonel Bradfield, formerly surgeon in the General Hospital, Madras, gives this for Madras:

There are today 629 doctors practicing in Madras town and roughly one doctor for every 840 people, a higher proportion than in the British Isles, where there is one doctor to 920. Other towns show large numbers of doctors and these figures take no account of the many practitioners of other systems of medicine.²

INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS

Sir Patrick Hehir³ says that one-third of the indigenous population in India is being treated by the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. According to the report of the health officer at Madras, more people attended the Ayurvedic dispensaries in that city than all the Government, mission, and other agency dispensaries practicing Western medicine, combined.

VITAL STATISTICS

Vital statistics in India are only fairly accurate; but when one considers that such a large percentage of the people are rural, and that almost universal illiteracy prevails in the rural districts, it is surprising that the statistics are as accurate as they are. Where there are no trained medical practitioners to make out death certificates, the cause of death cannot be depended upon as accurate in many of the cases, and the classification must be grouped under large headings rather than in detail.

Birth-rates.—The total number of births in British India for 1928 was 8,882,573, giving a birth-rate of 36.78 per 1,000 population. In 1927 the rate was 35.27, as against 34.64 for the previous five-year mean.

Death-rates.—The number of deaths in British India for the year 1928 was 6,180,114. The death-rate was 25.59 per 1,000 population, as against the previous five-year mean of 25.97. The urban death-rate was 30.06, as compared with the rural death-rate of 25.15.

Death-rates in India for 1927-28 compared with five-year means in several other countries:

² *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 14.

³ *The Medical Profession in India*, p. 96.

New Zealand	average rate for 1921-25.....	8.1
Netherlands	" " " "	9.4
Australia	" " " "	9.4
England and Wales	" " " "	10.9
United States	" " " "	11.7
France	" " " "	14.2
India	" " " 1927	24.89
India	" " " 1928	25.59

A chart comparing India's death-rate with that of Burma and some of these other countries can be seen in the Medical Report on Burma.

Infant Mortality.—Of the total mortality during the year, 25 per cent. occurred in children under one year. The corresponding figure for England and Wales the same year was 9.3. There were 172.94 deaths per 1,000 births for 1928. The infant deaths for England and Wales for the same period were sixty-five. The infant death-rate in cities is higher than in rural areas. This may be due to crowding in the cities and greater exposure to communicable diseases, but better reporting of deaths in the cities will account in part for the excess.

Death-rates for the first year of life in India for the years 1927-28 and the average five-year mean for certain other countries.

New Zealand	average rate for 1921-25.....	43.
Australia	" " " "	58.
Netherlands	" " " "	64.
United States	" " " "	72.
England and Wales	" " " "	76.
France	" " " "	95.
India	" " " 1927	166.93
India	" " " 1928	172.94

The chart comparing infant mortality in India with that in Burma and some of the above countries can be seen in the Medical Report on Burma. (Fact-Finders)

Excerpts from "Medical Work in Burma," Fact-Finders' Reports, Fred J. Wampler.

The following table shows the average mortality from the principal diseases for the years 1924 to 1928 inclusive:

AVERAGE MORTALITY, 1924-1928

<i>Disease</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Combined</i>
Cholera	0.97	0.46	0.52
Smallpox	0.66	0.19	0.24
Plague	2.38	0.13	0.39
Fevers	4.53	7.11	6.82
Dysentery and Diarrhea	2.64	0.56	0.80
Respiratory Diseases	7.16	0.26	1.05
Injuries .....	.91	0.32	.38
All other causes	17.84	9.22	10.20
Total	37.09	18.25	20.40

MEDICAL PROBLEMS

The problems of medical care and hospitalization in Burma differ in various ways from those in India. Since Burma has no caste system, special wards and kitchens in the hospitals are not necessary and food can be prepared in one kitchen, while the nursing problem is also simplified as there is no need to allow friends and relatives to remain in the hospital to care for the patients. Moreover, the fact that women can nurse men patients simplifies the problem both of the nursing schools and of nursing in the hospitals. As purdah does not exist, special hospitals for women are not needed, although if women doctors were to have charge of certain wards in general hospitals it would probably make it easier for some women to go to the hospital.¹ As time goes on, the whole problem of hospitalization is likely to become easier; because, on account of the higher economic level of the people, the ideal of self-support is nearer to attainment in Burma than in India.

In certain respects, therefore, the question of medical care is less difficult in Burma than in India. On the other hand, the practice of Western medicine is not so well established, and the people have not become accustomed to taking advantage of it to anything like the same degree as have the people in India. The British Government has been established less than eighty years in Lower Burma and only about forty-five years in the whole province—not long enough to get people educated to putting their trust in scientific medicine—and the missions have been slow in starting medical work as a part of their program. Added to this is the fact that relatively few Burmese have taken up the study of medicine, most of the practitioners being Europeans, Anglo-Indians, or Indians. The Burmese are dissatisfied with the preponderance of Indians in the medical service, and this does not tend to make modern medicine more popular in the public estimation.

GOVERNMENT MEDICAL SERVICE

The actual numbers in the Indian Medical Service in Burma and in the Burmese Medical Service are: Burmese, 152; Indians, 312; Anglo-Indians, 23; Europeans, 26. Thus less than one-third of the total are Burmese, while the proportion of commissioned officers is even less, being not even one-fourth.

The total number of officers of the Indian Medical Service serving in Burma at the close of 1929 was thirty-four. Nine of these were on leave and four on deputation. Of the twenty-one left, seven were occupying other offices; so that there were only fourteen to fill twenty-five appointments reserved for Indian Medical Service officers. The cadre will decrease with retirements soon due.

The cadre of civil assistant surgeons was increased by one, there being forty-two permanent officers and six provisional and fifteen temporary officers. There were 438 sub-assistant surgeons on the rolls at the end of the year, as against the 451 sanctioned.²

¹ Perhaps the principal reason why women do not enter hospitals lies in the elementary fact that their husbands do not take them there. Where a man can buy a new wife for Rs.200, he may hesitate to spend Rs.400 on saving the life of an old one.

² The statements in this paragraph and in the two that precede it are based upon data in the *Report of the Inspector General of Hospitals and Dispensaries for Burma, 1929*.

From the above it will be seen that there were 494 officers and assistants, not counting the provisional and temporary staff, to man 301 hospitals and dispensaries.

DOCTORS

Including those in the Government service, there are approximately seven qualified doctors in Burma for every ninety-three thousand of the population. The distribution of these is disproportionately high in the cities and very low in the rural areas. The Medical Department of the Burma Government is now subsidizing medical practitioners to live and to practise in rural areas.

At the end of 1929, there were 1,223 practitioners of medicine registered in Burma. A number of these were retired and many others were located in India, so that the active list could not have been more than 1,100. This would make one qualified practitioner for every 13,320 of the population. Two hundred and eighty-eight of the doctors are located in Rangoon and 104 in six other larger towns. If these be eliminated, and also the men in the Indian and Burmese medical services who are located in the hospitals and dispensaries in the cities and larger towns, 283 doctors are left for the rest of Burma, and most of these are to be found in the smaller cities. Rangoon has one qualified doctor for every 1,400 people, which is ten times better than the average for the whole of Burma. Only eight Burmese women in Burma have finished the higher course in medicine. Four of these have Western qualifications and four have taken their training in India or Burma. Only one of these is working in a mission hospital; she has just returned from America and is working at the Harper Memorial Hospital at Namkham.

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES IN INDIA AND BURMA

INTRODUCTION

IN EVALUATING the missionary enterprise in the Orient as to its effect upon the life of women, the plan has been followed of studying in each country (1) the present environment and general conditions; (2) the relationship of mission effort to the existing situation; (3) a summary of recommendations directed toward the necessary readjustment of the mission program to increase its future effectiveness. The written report of each of the four countries under review—India, Burma, China and Japan—followed this uniform outline.

The study of the field of women's work is a cross-section of various other phases of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. Duplication is, therefore, in the nature of the case inevitable. The object of this study has been to present as clearly as possible a synthetic view of the present situation of the missionary enterprise in relation to Eastern women.

The separate reports of the individual countries under review constitute the detailed background which is the basis for the combined presentation of Women's Interests and Activities included in the Report, *Re-Thinking Missions*.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA AS IT AFFECTS WOMEN

SOCIAL CHANGES

When the history of India for the decade following the World War is written, a fact of dominant importance as seen through the perspective of years will be the emergence of Indian women.

From the sheltered seclusion of the home women have passed suddenly into the limelight of national life. Forces which have been slowly at work for decades have suddenly, through the impetus of the national movement, gained momentum and released women for full participation in the national struggle. Following the call of Mr. Gandhi in the early days of the Civil Disobedience Movement women

pressed forward to join the ranks of the picketers, and courted danger from lathi charges of the police and imprisonment. Over three thousand women were imprisoned during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1929-30. Women participated also in less spectacular ways in patriotic service, demonstrating the new spirit of freedom. Whatever may be the final result of the Nationalist Movement, its effect on the advancement of Indian women may be rightly considered a permanent achievement.

The progress of women in India does not represent a single organized movement, but rather the inward stirring of Indian women to their depths. Although the nationalist struggle gave it tremendous force, the advance had begun over a decade earlier with the political awakening of a small minority. This was followed later by the acquisition of suffrage in nine major provinces of British India and five Indian states. Since that time women have held positions of political leadership in legislative councils and have begun to play an important rôle in civic life as members of municipal committees, educational bodies, and government commissions. A Moslem woman from the Punjab, in 1920 in purdah and in 1930 in the limelight of the world at the London Round Table Conference, marks the distance an Indian woman has traveled on the way to freedom in the last decade.

Through this period of awakening Indian women leaders have realized the need for the collective thought and action of women in various problems of national welfare. Several women's organizations have therefore come into being—the Women's Indian Association for Suffrage, the National Council of Women for Social and Legislative Reform, centralizing all other movements, and the All-India Educational Conference, the most powerful instrument in India for the promotion of progress of women. These movements, representing women of all races and religions, have national scope and tremendous significance.

The entrance of women into national life through their individual activities and through the organization of strong women's movements is the most striking feature of the new freedom. An even more fundamental process of social change, however, is taking place. The old religious social systems of India are being undermined by Western influence; the social handicaps which have kept Indian women in a position of inferiority are being questioned either by a changing public opinion or by legislative action.

The Sarda Act, which became effective in April, 1930, made child marriage illegal; the minimum marriage age for females was estab-

lished by this act at fourteen; for males at eighteen. The number of child brides, over eight and a half million, or one-half the girls of India, testifies eloquently to the need for such a law. Although the law is freely violated, as it was not implemented for enforcement, the existence of the law illustrates the rising tide of reform in India.

India's world record for widows is not yet broken, but the ban against widow remarriage is being lifted in a few states by legislation, but more generally by public opinion. The 1921 Census gives a total of 26 million widows, 750 under one year of age, 15,000 under five years, 102,000 between five and ten years, and 279,000 between ten and fifteen years. These numbers become vivid realities when one sees the throng of coarsely robed widows worshipping at the Ganges at dawn, or making the rounds of the temples at Benares, seeking to expiate their Karma of widowhood by lives of religious devotion.

Polygamy and purdah (purdah which means literally a curtain, is the term used for the seclusion of women), the two social handicaps which vitally affect Moslem women, have called forth less concentrated efforts at reform and will more slowly give way, since more firmly intrenched by religious sanction. The economic factor, however, tends to undermine polygamy. Women's education may also eventually exert its force against the plural marriage. The purdah system in India, compared with its practice in other countries of Islam, has seemed immovable and hopeless. But signs of change are evident. Purdah will scarcely be abolished by legislation, but by the steady pressure of public protest. Political leaders, reform societies, missionary leaders, women's organizations, all are exerting pressure against this system which immures over 40,000,000 women, shutting them off from the life of the world. It is interesting to note that although purdah is essentially Islamic in origin, it has been widely adopted by Hindus.

A change of fundamental importance is the gradual dissolution of the joint-family system, due to economic and social causes. The passing of the old paternalistic family idea, more noticeable in the cities, is bringing a change in home life and marriage relationship, based on the idea of choice and companionship, not focused solely on the sex relationship. These new ideas are very slowly gaining ground. But as the purdah and child marriage regime come to an end a new system based on social freedom and normal social contacts will be possible.

The currents of change which have produced a self-conscious

active minority of women leaders, vigorous women's movements and social reforms of vital importance, have as yet scarcely touched rural India. The millions of Indian village women know nothing of the Sarda Act, or social change. The life of village women is still bounded by the walls of her own compound and village. But there are some potential elements of change even in the life of rural India.* Women are beginning to travel more, at least as far as the nearest town. Radio broadcasting is enlarging the range of influence of modern ideas. The need for village uplift is beginning to register in the general consciousness.

One of the most significant signs of progress is the awakening of a sense of social responsibility among Indian men and women leaders. The problems of prostitution and vice have called forth concerted action. Vigilance societies in the main cities of India have been formed; legislation against the Devadasi system of temple-girls has been passed; rescue homes have been established; conferences on moral problems have been convened. There is a growing wide-spread interest also in social service. All over India social agencies are multiplying, among which Indian women's societies predominate. The consciousness of India's social needs and the urge to aid in meeting these are among the most hopeful features of the present situation in India, and show that the new freedom of women has found a constructive channel for expression.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In India change in the economic position of women is taking place much more slowly than change in their social status. Economic independence follows, rather than precedes, social freedom in India. Tradition has deterred women from leaving the home to earn a livelihood. Economic necessity is only just beginning to bring women into economic pursuits and break down social prejudice.

The economic contribution of women in India may be measured by the extent of their employment. Women constitute about one-third (31.3 per cent.) of the total number of workers in India. The number of women in industry compared with the number in agriculture is very small: 5,000,000 in industry and 33,500,000 in extractive agriculture. There are about 10,700,000 men in industry and 72,000,000 men engaged in extractive agriculture.**

Women are employed for the most part in unskilled industries.

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Ruth F. Woodsmall, "Effect of the Cinema," *in loco*.

** *Statistical Abstract for British India* from 1918-19 to 1927-28, p. 36.

The largest number of skilled workers is in textiles, in which women represent, however, only one-fifth of the total number of workers. Women are found in varying numbers in many types of hard labor; such as in dock work, as coolies in building trades, in road-building, in quarries, in mines, in jute factories, and as seasonal workers in ginning cotton and picking and cleaning wool. Home industries occupy a large number of women; such as making gold and silver braid embroidery, basket-weaving, lace-work, cigarettes, tape-weaving for beds and various other types of work characteristic of different localities.

Religious and social customs have determined the special features of industrial life for women. There are practically no unmarried women. This is due to the early marriage age and unfavorable moral conditions. Purdah has deterred Moslem women from factory employment. The general idea of seclusion of women has tended to segregate all women workers from men in factories, except where women are employed with men of their own families.

Women work the same number of hours as men, except that night work is prohibited. However, the women's burden of labor is larger than man's, since household duties add to her factory hours. Women universally receive lower pay than men in industrial employment. But for the most part the type of work is different. Working and living conditions are far from conducive to the health and well-being of women in industry. Crowded living conditions (for example, 97 per cent. of the industrial workers in Bombay live with six to nine persons in one room; 92 per cent. of the houses of the working classes in Ahmedabad are one-roomed),* excessive burden of debt (frequently carried over from previous village life), and, in many poorly equipped cotton-mills, unsanitary working conditions in an atmosphere choked with dust and laden with cotton fluff, combine to make women and children pay the heavy price of disease!

Industrial welfare is in its infancy. A certain number of the larger industrial plants have voluntarily established various types of welfare. Some factories, as in Cawnpore and Madras, have very complete schemes, including housing, medical care, maternity and child welfare, recreational and educational provisions. Other mills carry on perhaps only the *crèche*, clinic for mothers and general medical service. A number of agencies, such as the Indian Red Cross, Workingmen's Institute in Bombay, Seva Sadan, and Labor Unions, also have established welfare programs.

* *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, pp. 270, 276.

Industrial legislation for women and children includes limitation of child labor, prohibition of night work, work in dangerous processes, and in mines after 1939. The Royal Commission on Industry has further recommended an all-India Maternity Act, reduction of hours of labor in seasonal employment and further regulation of children's labor.

Industrial problems are becoming a subject of interest for women's organizations, such as the All-India Educational Conference; also for youth, as shown by the Youth League in Madras, and for the National Congress, which included protective measures for women workers in the Karachi Congress platform of 1931.

Rural India calls up the picture of women always at work at home, grinding corn, hulling and polishing rice, churning and making *ghi* (clarified butter), cooking food and sometimes ginning and ginning cotton, making dung cakes which when dry serve as fuel, drawing and carrying water from the village well, laboring in the fields, or on the road laden with wood or straw for the home fires. The poverty and ignorance of the village woman and her seemingly endless toil in the field and at home make constructive homemaking or the intelligent care of children very difficult. The life of the village woman is largely a routine of duties necessary for a purely physical existence.

The village woman by her labor makes her contribution as a part of the whole family to the financial upkeep and income of the family. Hence in the nature of the case she receives no separate wages. She is, however, recognized as a definite economic asset. She is also a large factor in the family expenditure because of the heavy drain on the family purse, through the purchase of jewelry. Every woman, however poor, must have her quota of anklets and bracelets, ear ornaments and toe rings. Jewelry is not merely a matter of satisfaction of feminine vanity, as it constitutes a woman's bank account and is her exclusive possession. The excessive expenditures for wedding and funeral festivities are also in large measure due to women, who tenaciously maintain religious and social customs. Purdah is an economic waste in village life in North India, observed, it is true, less rigidly than in city life, but no less operative as a psychological attitude in many villages, thus preventing Moslem women from free participation in rural life.

In professional life the number of women is increasing. Teaching, always the entering wedge breaking down social prejudice to allow women economic independence, is the major profession which has

attracted women. In 1931 more than 5,000 women students were taking teachers' training. The 1921 Census showed 35,845 women employed in different lines of teaching. Women are entering the field of medicine, public health, and nursing in increasing numbers. Only a very few women have followed the distinguished example of Cornelia Sorabji, the first woman lawyer in India. In 1930 there were nine women law students in different colleges in India. The field of social and industrial welfare is very new but full of promise for well-trained Indian women. The stenographic field is still a man's field; this is true of the business field as a whole.

An interesting and significant trend is the increase in non-Christian women in professional life, which means that Indian Christians will no longer hold the lead. There is also a trend away from marriage among college graduates to enter careers, and likewise an increase of married women in professional life. Both of these trends are an interesting reflection of Indian social custom now in process of transformation.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

The terrible wastage of the lives of women and children is the initial and final impression of India. Ignorance of the illiterate masses which is common in other countries, combined in India with social-religious customs, has loaded the dice heavily against women and children. It is estimated that a fifth of the children in India die before the age of one year and almost half the children die before five years of age.* Approximately 100,000 women die annually in maternity according to the estimate of Dr. Balfour of the Heffkine Institute of Bombay.** The major reasons assigned for these high mortality rates are early marriage and consequent early childbirth plus primitive unsanitary midwifery and lack of child care. Purdah is an added reason for Moslem women, as well as for many Hindu women, who live in seclusion. These social customs also are the cause of general debility and lowered resistance to disease which make women an easy prey to tuberculosis, small pox and other communicable diseases.

Village life is characterized by more disease than city life, due to the lower health standards, greater ignorance and superstition, less exposure to modern health ideas, and a dearth of medical facilities. The bad midwifery of the untrained village *dai* is one of the greatest

* Report of Public Health Commissioner for the Government of India for 1928.

** Balfour, Margaret I., C. B. E., M. B. Heffkine Institute, Bombay, *Maternity and Child Welfare* reprint from *Antiseptic*, April, 1929.

enemies of the village woman. Statistics on infant and maternal mortality become realities when one sees the setting of a village woman's life, essentially the same in its menace to health whether in a thatched-roof hut in Madras or a mud-walled village of the United Provinces.

Viewed *en masse* the health problems of the women in India seem hopeless, but there are forces at work beginning to combat these evils and elements of change in the health situation. Hospitals specializing on medical care for women are increasing through government agencies. Important private and semi-official agencies are concentrating on the health problems of women and training native midwives. Several health schools are furnishing well-trained health visitors who, though few in number, are exerting a widespread influence on health conditions in Indian homes. An increasing number of Indian women doctors and nurses are entering the field of medicine and general health. The last decade has brought a distinct extension in the program of health propaganda through Baby Weeks, Health Exhibits, and Social Health programs. A very constructive influence also is the growing emphasis on physical exercises and recreation. The Girl Guides Movement, the Y.W.C.A. sports tournaments and physical training classes, and the purdah clubs established all over India with their varied outlets for social enjoyment, are all exerting an important effect on the health and social outlook of women.

The most hopeful evidence of improvement in health is the changing attitude of the masses, the breaking down of the fear of hospitals, the freer use of facilities for health, the appreciation of positive health values and the active promotion of child welfare; maternity and general health problems by the enlightened public are indications of an upward curve in health conditions. In view of the tremendous health needs of India, it is difficult, however, to measure definite progress.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

In a consideration of conditions in India as they affect women, no subject is of more crucial importance than education. All progress toward social freedom, economic independence, a higher level of physical well-being, must be built on an educational basis.

Viewed in terms of educational need, not in terms of awakened interest, the situation is depressing. General literacy, according to the 1921 Census, was 6 per cent., with female literacy 1.8 per cent. and male literacy 10.7 per cent. The disparity in educational level

of boys and girls is measured by the difference in school registration; one girl out of every ten of school age attends school; two-thirds of the girls go only one year; in primary classes there are four times as many boys as girls; in middle schools, eighteen boys for one girl; in the higher middle schools, 34; and in the colleges 33 boys for one girl.*

To solve this problem of disparity between girls' and boys' education is a tremendous task. In the 700,000 villages of India there is only one girls' school in every 19 towns or villages, compared with one boys' school in every three towns or villages. One village girl in 600 compared with one boy in every 100 has school facilities; that is, 1,070 of the girls, compared with 4,970 of the boys, have school facilities. Co-education in elementary schools is a vital need for universal education but is blocked in many parts of India by purdah. The lack of women teachers is perhaps the most serious obstacle to girls' education. Most schools have only one teacher, nearly always a man, often an old man, a striking incongruity for the teaching of little girls.**

Over against these dark outlines of the picture of girls' education there are certain relieving features. The rapid growth in girls' schools and especially the increase in higher education is hopeful. A decade ago there were barely 300 post-matriculantes in India; today there are over 3,000.***

Not only the facilities for girls' education, but the general desire for education, is growing. Education for girls today is accepted as a value and asset, not as an unnecessary waste of time and money or even a disgrace, an opinion held formerly by many conservative

* Statistics on education for girls taken from the Hartog Report, *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, and R. Littlehailles, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 156.

** The paucity of women teachers is illustrated by the fact that there is one teacher for every hundred girls under instruction in India, and only one hundred women inspectors for 28,000 schools cover over a million square miles, an average of 280 institutions and 10,000 square miles for each inspectress.—Fact-Finders' Reports, "India-Burma," Ruth F. Woodsmall, *in loco*.

*** Growth in Girls' Schools and in Enrollment in Girls' Schools in British India Between 1922 and 1927:

	(Per Cent.) Schools	(Per Cent.) Enrollment
Primary	17	25
Middle	15	35
High	16	39
College	35	101
Teacher Training	99	12

Hindus and Moslems. An interesting evidence of the change in attitude toward education for girls is the fact that it is recognized as a distinct asset for marriage. The All-India Woman's Educational Conference has already been mentioned as one of the most potent forces changing public opinion concerning women's education and promoting a spread of educational opportunities.

The renaissance in education has affected the extent of education, but as yet very little the content of girls' education. Education for girls has received very little specialized attention, merely following the standards established for boys' schools. The examination system has crowded out originality, forcing everything into the same mold. There has been little room for home-making subjects and little attention to the needs of the future wives and mothers, as secondary education has been directed automatically toward higher education with little chance for deviation.

However, a number of experimental private schools are seeking to discover the way out of the stereotyped educational system.* One of the most hopeful trends is the scheme for a Home Science College at Delhi under the All-India Woman's Educational Conference designed to meet the need for specialized training in home science subjects. The government educational department is also considering the possibilities of modifying education for girls to increase its effectiveness in coördinating it more closely with the life needs of Indian girls. There is a growing opportunity, therefore, for experimentation by missions in introducing new methods and a new content into education.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS

At the heart of the process of transformation in the life of Indian women is the fundamental change in religious thought and expression in India today. Every detail of the life of women in India is colored by religion. Social customs have been determined by religious sanction. The expanding freedom of women is only possible as religion accommodates itself to change. The urge to freedom in various lines has not led women to protest against the bonds of their religion which they have accepted as inevitable. But the gradual weakening of religious traditions which have determined the handicaps of women, has been effected by the impact of a composite of

* Some of the most distinctive non-Mission schools which illustrate modern educational values are as follows: the Dhaka Rural School near Delhi, Santiniketan at Bolpur (Rabindranath Tagore's school), Miss Bose's school in Delhi, The Government Zenana Industrial School in Lahore, and the Indian Woman's University at Poona.

outside forces. Thus social changes dependent on religion have been achieved for women without any effort on their part.

As a matter of fact, Indian women, especially the older generation which wields the balance of power, not only have not protested against social-religious customs, but have jealously safeguarded them, since women in India are strongholds of religion. This religious conservatism may be characteristic of women generally speaking, but it is peculiarly true of Indian women. Hindu, Moslem and Christian women in India are all alike essentially religious, clinging tenaciously to their accepted faiths, and steadfast in their religious observances. The Hindu woman keeps up the daily worship of the gods, observes the religious customs of the home, teaches the children the religious duties. The Moslem woman has less share in public participation, but follows in the home the Moslem prayer customs. The Christian woman of the older generation finds satisfaction in her church life; the majority of women, however, carry on many quiet lines of "Martha" type of service, and a few have begun to assume more prominent positions.

Younger women, on the other hand, are beginning to push out the frontiers of religious freedom, not aggressively and not in a spirit of protest, but quietly expanding in their religious thought. With the non-Christians of the younger generation their religious emotion has found an outlet in the national struggle under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi, who has evoked a spirit of idealism and sacrifice. The appreciation of the spirit of Christ has come into their thinking through Mr. Gandhi's ideal. Without becoming Christians they freely accepted the validity of Christ's teaching. The younger generation of Christians is turning away from a church-centric or mission-centric Christianity and seeking a Christ-centric ideal. They feel drawn to non-Christians today through the common bond of their devotion to Mr. Gandhi, and the new fervor of nationalism. They have a definitely liberal attitude toward non-Christian religions, and a desire to appreciate the cultural base of Hinduism which they recognize as essentially Indian.

Mingled with this appreciation of Indian culture is a strong feeling that Christianity has alienated them from their environment. Their dominating desire is to find the spiritual quality in religion, to be free from a sectarian Christianity, and follow Christ as the goal. They feel that the Church has limited Christ; but the spirit of Christ is penetrating India; the Kingdom of God is coming, but not in the conventional interpretation of organized religion.

RELATIONSHIP OF MISSION EFFORT TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN WOMEN

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL NEEDS

The relationship of Christian missions to the advance of Indian women is freely admitted by non-Christian Indian leaders.* Through many direct and indirect influences missions have contributed vitally to reshaping the social thinking of India. Such fundamental reforms as the child-marriage law, the elevation of the status of widows, and protests against the seclusion of women, represent some of the effects of Christian thought. Christian missions have exerted an influence in spreading the ideals of service, through the work of individual missionaries and through certain institutions. The example of the individual woman missionary of vision identifying herself with reform and spending herself freely in individual social service has undoubtedly played a vital part in building up the ideal of service in India.

The actual social program of missions, however, expressed in institutions, has been very limited. Aside from a few social institutions, like the Naigaum Social and Industrial Center in Bombay, a union Christian effort, the Nagpada Neighborhood House (American Board), and the Vellore Social Center (Reformed Church of America), which are effective demonstrations of the social approach, the mission program has not included this emphasis. This is a field for mission work still to be met.

India is replete with opportunities for social work. A special type of social-center work is offered in the mission city day school. These should serve more definitely as a means of contact with the community through the easy entrance into many homes which these schools afford. Otherwise, if they are not developed as social centers, they should in most cases be closed; they are no longer an absolute educational need in view of the increase in government provision for elementary education in cities. Schools and colleges should also have more fully developed programs in social service. Survey projects of local conditions, as well as more definite pieces of service, would be valuable in stimulating the interest of students in current problems.

* Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi repeatedly voices the feeling that "the women of India have been placed under a deep debt of gratitude to the several missionary agencies for their valuable contribution to the educational uplift of Indian women." Lala Hans Raj, the great Arya Samaj leader, expresses a very general opinion in saying, "The best result of Christian missions is the social emancipation of women."—Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Ruth F. Woodsmall, *in loco*.

The interests of women and children in industry have not yet claimed much specialized attention from mission workers. Lack of basic information and awareness of responsibility in industrial problems characterize the great majority of Christian women workers. The lack of contact of missionaries with the industrial field was mentioned by a member of the Whitley Commission. The Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. were cited as salient exceptions to the general rule. The need for Christian agencies to include within their interpretation of the Christian task a more vital responsibility for promoting social and industrial progress is evident.*

The increasing opportunities and demand for well-trained women social and industrial workers present an urgent need for training facilities, which should be met by Christian missions. The present social-training course in Bombay has had value as a pioneering venture, but is inadequate to the need. The Christian colleges should, wherever possible, develop courses on social work. They should also aid in recruiting social workers by directing the attention of students to social problems and offering practical experience in the solution of social needs.

As women enter more freely into economic life Christian agencies must turn their attention to constructive help in preparing women for professional careers. Adult education, employment bureaus, hostels for women in employment, recreation clubs and mixed social activities under careful guidance, are much-needed lines of Christian effort. The Y.W.C.A. is carrying on these various lines of work in different city centers, but the extent of the program is not fully adequate to the need. There are scope and opportunity for coöperation and union effort in this field of service.

The social problems should be more carefully analyzed and the needs of youth for normal social contacts should be met through some provision for centers offering natural mixed activities of men and women. The Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. are developing work along this line, but there is need for churches and mission schools to plan more definitely to meet these social needs of youth.

HEALTH NEEDS

The general history of women's medical work, of the training of women doctors and nurses, in India is in reality the history of mission

* Mention should be made of the study of Indian industry made by Miss Cecile Matheson for the N.C.C., 1928-29; three special industrial conferences—Poona, 1929; Nagpur, 1930; Madras, 1931—and the formation of a committee on industrial problems in five provincial Christian councils.

work, as missions have led the way in these fields.* Since the opening of the first woman's hospital in India at Bareilly by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1875 missions have devoted a large share of time and money to meeting the health needs of Indian women. The extent of the service today is measured by certain facts: out of 400 women doctors in India, 150 are women missionaries; out of 183 zenana hospitals in 1927, 93 were mission hospitals; in 1930 the foreign mission medical personnel included 210 women and 133 men doctors; 43 per cent. of the women medical students in India in 1928-29 were in mission hospitals; (179 in mission and 234 in non-mission institutions); 85-90 per cent. of all the nurses in India are Christian, practically all of whom are trained in mission hospitals. These statistics, however, impressive as they are, can give little idea of the incalculable service of the mission medical service for woman in India.**

In planning the future program of the Mission health program for women, certain needs are evident. There should not be a further extension of the hospital program, but a development of preventive medicine and health education. In hospitals suitable for the purpose the training of nurses should be along lines of public health. In promoting health education the hospital service should be closely correlated with the schools.

The problem of giving nurses in India training in general nursing should be carefully considered. Social and moral conditions have limited the woman nurse to the nursing of women patients, but changing social attitudes point to the fact that the gradual shift from the present "purdah psychology" may be possible. The present over-production of nurses like hothouse plants does not develop moral strength and independent character, which are the absolute requisite of a Christian nurse. Furthermore, the training of nurses needs to be changed from the almost exclusive emphasis on the care of general surgical cases to an adequate attention also to those other forms of nursing service, so necessary for the welfare of Indian

* "The account given to the beginnings of women's medical work in India shows what a debt the women of India owe to medical missions. The subsequent history of their work displays in almost as striking a degree the part which mission doctors have played in every fresh development." Quotations like the above could be multiplied from many other sources, official and private, English and Indian, Christian and non-Christian, in recognition of the achievement of medical missions. No other subject related to Christian missions calls forth more complete unanimity of opinion.—Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Ruth F. Woodsmall, *in loco*.

** Statistics from *Simon Commission Report*, Vol. I, par. 69; Balfour, Dr. Margaret I. and Young, Ruth, *The Work of Medical Women in India*, p. 82; *Christian Medical Assn. Prayer Cycle*, Aug. 1930; *Directory of Christian Missions 1927-28*.

women and children; child welfare, pre-natal care and the health center especially require the service of the trained nurse.

In the field of medical education the need for a medical college for women is being urged,* since Indian Christian women doctors cannot obtain the full medical diploma from either of the two Christian medical schools, which give the training and certificate only for the lower degree. Graduates from Christian medical schools are professionally handicapped in competition with women medical students from the Lady Hardinge Woman's Medical College in Delhi, or from the government medical colleges which have co-education. The need of having Christian women medical students receive higher training in a Christian medical college can scarcely be questioned. To meet this need the Vellore Medical School hopes to raise the standard to college grade.**

The growth of private and government health agencies for women presents the need and opportunity for closer coöperation of the mission medical service with these other agencies. In training native midwives and promoting a general health program, in providing hostels for women students in government institutions; in research into maternity and child care in mission hospitals, and other lines, Christian missions can contribute effectively to the general health welfare of Indian women.

EDUCATION

The present renaissance in education for girls in India has been motivated in no small measure by missionary educational effort. No other field of mission work bears more eloquent evidence of the pioneering achievement of missions. The mission contribution to the literacy of Christian women is of special significance when one considers the fact that the great majority of Christians come from the lower classes. The comparison of literacy of Christian women to the literacy of the whole female population is 10.1 per cent. to 1.8 per cent.*** The comparison of the literacy of Christian, Hindu and Mohammedan women is a significant indication of mission educa-

* See Regional Reports on India, this Volume, "Problems of Medical Missions," Section 5.

** Medical education for women in India includes:

4 Women's Medical Schools—2 Govt., 2 Mission (Ludhiana and Vellore);

1 College, Government Medical for Women (The Lady Hardinge at Delhi);

13 Co-educational Medical Schools and Colleges.

*** Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1911-18 to 1927-28, p. 28.

tional work for women.* Certain indices of the extent of mission education for girls and women in proportion to the total educational development are significant.

PROPORTION OF MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS
TO THE TOTAL EDUCATION FOR GIRLS**

	<i>Per Cent. of Mission Schools to Total Schools</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Enrollment in Mission Schools to Total Enrollment</i>
Primary	4	8
Middle	33	31
High	45	44
College	50	56
Teachers' Training	48	53

Missions have made a significant contribution to the whole cause of girls' education in the past by a widespread demonstration of the principle of equality of opportunity for girls,** as is shown by the comparative effort expended on education for girls and for boys. The day of expansion is past. There is need today for a policy of concentration rather than expansion, an emphasis on quality rather than on quantity. "Mission schools formerly led Government schools, now they follow," the comment of a missionary educator, is significant of the present situation. This statement may perhaps be modified to a certain extent for mission schools for girls, but it is undoubtedly true that they no longer have the distinctive lead over Government schools and face today a situation of increasing competition.

In order to insure the distinctive value of mission education for the future, certain definite changes are suggested. A more experi-

* *Ibid.*

	<i>Per Cent. of Literacy to the Whole Female Population</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Literacy in English to the Whole Population</i>
Christian	18.1	6.03
Hindu	1.4	.05
Mohammedan .....	.9	.03

** Data from R. Littlehailles, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II.

A study of the graduates of the mission colleges for women illustrates the range and quality of their leadership. It is not too much to say that most of the Indian women leaders prominent today in Indian life have come within the influence of mission schools.

COMPARISON OF MISSION SCHOOLS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Total Number</i>		<i>Number Christian</i>	
	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Students</i>
Boys	486	8,512	305	2,912
Girls	381	5,756	333	3,978

Data from a questionnaire study (Fact-Finders' Reports) by L. B. Sipple of 72 middle, high and training schools.

mental quality must be developed in both the method and the content of education. Education must be less stereotyped and more closely related to life. A few schools have shown originality in developing vital educational values, but the majority are in danger of becoming mere machines preparing for examination. The small percentage preparing for higher education pass through the system, achieving finally the goal of a degree and a career. For this small minority academic training is highly important, but the preparation of the few for higher education should not crowd out the needs of the many for whom the high school marks the end of education. It is true that home hygiene and domestic science are now required by the Government system, but these subjects also fall into examination treadmill and are in danger of becoming mere book subjects. In view of the increasing vocational opportunity for girls there should be some provision made for vocational training which has received in most schools very little attention. Mission educators need to make a careful study of the whole problem of practical education.

One of the most serious problems in mission schools for girls is the danger of Westernization. This is evident in standards of living, in dress, in foreign types of amusement, in foreign forms of worship, in foreign music and art—in short, in the transfer of Western customs and Western patterns of thought. This danger can only be counteracted by a conscious attempt to give more value to Indian customs and culture. Some few schools have already achieved marked success in Indianization of atmosphere. Through the close coöperation of Indian and foreign leaders much can be accomplished to remove the stigma of "foreignness."

Allied with this trend toward Westernization is the strong tendency of Christian schools and colleges to segregate students in a purdah-like, fully self-contained atmosphere cut off from Indian community life. Certain factors of segregation are inevitable; large mission compounds are a world removed from real life; safety from social and moral dangers in the environment admittedly must be insured. But over-protection is a positive handicap, as it gives no preparation for meeting later moral hazards. To solve this problem mission schools should enlarge the scope of extra-curricular activities, directed toward the development of a closer community contact.*

Christian students particularly have come under this influence of segregation, as Christian parents have been glad to keep their children in the mission boarding-schools for long periods. Many Indian Christian girls have been in boarding-schools from the age of six to

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Ruth F. Woodsmall, *in loco*.

twenty. Non-Christian parents have not, as a rule, favored having their children away from home for long periods; hence the problem of segregation concerns principally the Indian Christians. The extra-curricular program offers aid in solving this problem of segregation. Projects which connect the student with the community should be developed, such as, simple social surveys and definite social service projects carried out by students.*

This criticism of segregation applies to mission colleges as well as high schools for girls. The lack of coördination with life is a charge often rightly made. Some colleges fully aware of the problem are attempting to bring the college into contact with other institutions through debating teams and literary, religious or social activities; and to develop community relationship through social-service projects. The colleges have a special obligation at the present time to train women leaders for various lines of leadership. To this end the academic course should be vitalized by coördination with economic and social issues. Christian higher education for women offers a significant demonstration of the effectiveness of united mission effort. They also illustrate the financial difficulties of union enterprises which seem to be inherent in the situation. Under the necessity of financial retrenchment, the coöperating boards almost inevitably sacrifice their union projects first. The value of union efforts is recognized, but their success is at present jeopardized by financial insecurity.** Missions have rendered signal service to education for women in India through

* Significant attempts are being made by a number of mission schools to counteract those tendencies of Westernizing students and alienating them from their own community life, by emphasizing Indian customs and values. The following may be cited: the cottage system at Sherman High School, Chittoor in the Arcot (Reformed Church of America), and Sangla Hill at Sangla (United Presbyterian); in Indian worship—Vellore Medical School and Women's Christian College; rural life center, Shadra near Lahore (American Presbyterian), and Girls' School, Ongole (Baptist); in the appreciation of Indian culture—The United Missionary High School in Calcutta (United Church of Scotland), and Ushagram (Methodist) in social service projects; St. Christopher's Training College, village welfare work and a village survey by students at Chittoor; and in rural values and practical arts—the Lucy Perry Noble Institute (American Board); the Vocational School at Ikkadu (Wesleyan); Industrial School at Palmaner (Reformed Church of America).

** The Christian program in higher education for women includes the following institutions: Three arts colleges, Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow (primarily Methodist with some other mission support); Kinnaird College, Lahore (Union); Woman's Christian College, Madras (Union).

One teachers' College, St. Christopher's Training College in Madras (Union), with a Teachers' Training Department in Isabella Thoburn College. Aside from these separate colleges for women there are a number of co-educational colleges and universities open for women, as for example, Wilson College, Bombay (Church of Scotland), the Scottish College, Calcutta (Church of Scotland) and Forman Christian College, Lahore (Presbyterian).

the preparation of teachers. In Madras 65 per cent. of the teachers are Christian; in the Punjab 80 per cent., practically all of whom were trained in mission schools. The training of teachers in mission schools, however, is not limited to Christians; the number of non-Christians is growing. There is special need for vernacular training schools for village teachers along the lines of the school for training the teachers at Moga. The training of women teachers for secondary schools is also essential for the development of high-school education for girls. In this field St. Christopher's Training College in Madras has distinguished itself by a high-grade type of work. This institution is still in the pioneering stage, inadequately supported. It should receive the special financial consideration of the coöperating boards because of its splendid contribution to Christian education. The training of teachers under Christian influence for the different stages of education for girls is a field of mission effort which merits united effort and sustained support.

Opinions differ as to the desirability of promoting co-education in India on a wide scale. Successful experiments are being made by Government schools in some provinces, notably in the Punjab. It is generally recognized that co-education will be eventually the key to the solution of the problem of universal education. Because of the special attention which mission schools give to intensive character development, they should be able to render valuable pioneering service in the co-educational field. A few such efforts, as for example, the mixed boarding schools in the Madura district and in the Punjab, have already attracted the favorable comment of Government educators. They would welcome further experimentation along this line by mission agencies.

There is at the present time much discussion about the Government policy of restriction of all religious teaching in mission schools. As important as the issue of freedom of religious teaching may be, the question of primary significance is the inadequacy of the religious program; the influence is restricted not by Government regulations, but by the lack of a real and vital interpretation of religious education. Much of the present type of religious teaching in schools would not be a serious loss if it were discontinued entirely. The Christian influence of the schools has, however, fortunately depended on the personality of the teachers and not on the stereotyped religious program. There is great need for a more vital religious education program, centered in the student's life interests and offering opportunity for creative character development. It is generally admitted that Christian schools for girls have had a more distinctive Christian value

in atmosphere and influence than mission schools for boys,* due to the closer contact of teacher and student and the more intimate quality of life. Girls' schools, however, cannot maintain their Christian influence on a high level without more conscious attention to the religious education program.

The difficulty of the education of girls and women in rural India is one of the basic problems of India, and a problem of crucial concern for missions. The Christian community is greatly handicapped by the backward position of women. (Compare the literacy of Christian males, 30.9 per cent., with the literacy of Christian females, 18.1 per cent.).** The missions in some areas, such as the Arcot area in the Madras Presidency, have contributed definitely to village education by a plan of village schools with an attempt at supervision. Practically all missions have had some schools in rural areas varying greatly in educational quality. Most of the schools of secondary grade have been centered in towns. The general trend of these town schools has been away from the village; hence village students attending town schools have been deflected from village life. This may be a natural result in India as in other countries, since the city always seems to exert a strong pull away from the village. In India, however, this trend has especially serious significance, as rural India is in such dire need of trained women leaders. A few schools, however, like the Lucy Perry Noble Home Life School at Madura (American Board), The Vernacular Middle School and Teachers' Training School at Ongole (Baptist) and the Girls' Industrial School at Palmaner in the Arcot (Reformed Church of America) with their training for village life given in a simple rural atmosphere give hope for the solution of the problem of rural education. In every area schools like these should be developed and directed toward meeting the practical needs of village girls. The promotion of rural education and rural welfare, as a whole, depends in the last analysis on the type of Indian leadership which can be recruited for rural service. To secure Indian women adequately trained for the task has proved an almost insurmountable barrier. For the young unmarried Indian woman to live alone and work independently in the village has been contrary to

* Proportion, stated in percentage, of Christian and non-Christian teachers and students in boys' mission schools and girls' mission schools:

	Christian		non-Christian	
	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers
Boys' Schools	34	62	66	38
Girls' Schools	69	87	31	13

Results of a questionnaire study (Fact-Finders' Reports) of seven middle, high and training schools, L. B. Sipple.

** 1921 Census.

Indian social custom. The older Indian woman, perhaps a widow, who could meet the requirements of social custom lacks the training and education necessary for efficient service.

As a solution for this serious difficulty it has been suggested that a group of Indian women workers might live together in a central village, working out from this village to other villages in the vicinity. Such a plan is being tried in the Seva Sadan rural center near Poona. The house for the staff of workers might serve also as a village social center for the women of the other villages. Such a plan should solve the social and moral problem of young workers in the village.

Although the difficulties of the village problem are fully recognized, Indian women leaders themselves will doubtless be able to cope with the situation. Miss Gertrude Roy, living in her village center near Nagpur, has demonstrated that social prejudice can be successfully overcome. Her example will doubtless inspire other educated young Indian women to devote themselves to rural welfare. Only as educated young Indian women, capable of creative thought, are fired with the service uplift ideal will there be any hope of raising the level of village life.

The preceding consideration of the present situation of Christian education for girls in India has revealed the need for improvement along several lines—increased attention to vocational education, home science, extra-curricular activities, the training of teachers, and more attention to rural problems. Some of these emphases may call for financial expansion of the educational program. For the most part they can be accomplished as a part of a general process of reorganization. This calls for a concentration of effort which will mean curtailment in certain lines in order to raise the general standard. The Marathi Mission Survey is a hopeful sign that the advantages of quality rather than quantity are recognized. A careful evaluation by each mission of its educational program would doubtless reveal possibilities of retrenchment which would release funds for the new types of work needed in the mission program.

RELIGIOUS WORK

Religious work for women has been given a place of great importance in India, judging by the number of foreign workers and Indian women engaged in evangelism. In 1927, of a total of 1,730 women missionaries, 1,085 were listed as evangelists; and of a total of 16,158 indigenous workers, 5,821 were engaged in evangelism. A large number were doubtless in the unclassified list. It must be remembered that the number 1,085 probably includes the wives of

missionaries. Furthermore the term evangelist has a rather wide meaning. But with these allowances the total number of women in religious work shows a strong emphasis in this field of effort.

An evaluation, however, of the religious program as carried on by the Indian women workers, commonly called Bible Women, leaves for the most part a feeling of depression. The term "Bible Woman" calls up the picture of an untrained or very slightly trained, often uneducated, elderly woman, perhaps an indigent widow for whom the mission has felt a responsibility; or the pastor's wife, who received her pittance as a supplement to her husband's meager salary. The work consists of visiting in zenanas, the woman's quarter in an Indian home, to recite Bible stories and sing hymns, often on a more or less random schedule. The primary urge is evangelism with practically no social teaching. The Bible Woman's service has not been analyzed; the work has been left largely to the individual Bible Woman to plan and is therefore unregulated and often futile.*

There are, of course, exceptional Bible Women in different places in India, who are carrying on a valuable zenana adult education program with social and religious emphasis. They serve as a striking contrast to the prevailing drab type, and illustrate the possibilities of what women evangelists of education and training can accomplish. The difficulty of securing suitable women for evangelistic work is unquestionably very great. Social customs have practically made impossible using young unmarried women, especially in village evangelism. The work of evangelism, therefore, has come to be considered exclusively the field of older women. The type of women available for Bible Women has more or less conditioned the training, but the conception of training has been too narrowly evangelistic.

A few forward-looking women missionaries in the evangelistic field are distressed over the general situation, and are trying to make definite improvements, but many missionary evangelists seem satisfied with the present ineffective program. There is no question, however, that the old type of Bible Women is obsolete and must make room for younger, better qualified workers. The vision of the work must be enlarged to include educational and social work. Training courses must be reorganized to meet these needs. In the reorganization process differentiation must be made between two types of workers and training for each type provided: religious workers for general work in church, home and community, and religious education supervisors for schools and Sunday schools. The work of the Indian woman re-

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Ruth F. Woodsmall, *in loco*.

ligious worker of both types must be raised to the level of a real career.*

Religious work for women missionaries should not be narrowly limited to direct evangelism. In India today there is great need for more contact of women of different religions, coming together in a common spiritual quest. Many missionaries are afraid of the contaminating influence of such inter-religious fellowships. The more liberal group which welcomes such fellowship is often inhibited from making intimate non-mission or non-Christian contacts by the criticism of the controlling voices in the mission and the fear that such association, which is not a definite part of a mission schedule, may not be considered a legitimate phase of mission work. Missionaries of depth of religious experience and breadth of life-contacts have much to contribute and much to receive without fear from non-Christian leaders. It is a tragedy that a limited vision of the narrow, concentrated absorption in institutions has crowded out the creative power of Christian personalities.

There is need of a reorientation of the missionary attitude and basic change in the approach as regards women. The emphasis and appeal of the Christian Message can no longer be centered on the social evils of Hinduism or Islam in their effect on women, since advanced leaders in these religions are themselves repudiating these evils and trying to dissociate them from religion. Christianity must base its claims not on a destructive undermining attack on non-Christian faiths, but on a positive presentation of its own.

A change in attitude and interpretation is no less needed by the home constituency in America than by the missionaries in the field. In fact, the constructive work of the missionary in sympathetic contact with the non-Christian community is oftentimes jeopardized by the presentation in America of mission work and the interpretation of India. Missionaries feel that there should be more acknowledgment of the constructive Indian efforts at reforms, and less destructive criticism of the social evils of India which Indians deeply resent; as one Indian leader said, "Arguments used in the West in support of Christianity in India assumes the form of downright vilification of Hinduism."** "The appeal for mission effort in India," as one mis-

* The Bible Training schools under American mission boards are as follows: The Lucy Perry Noble Institute in Madura (American Board), The Bible Training School for Women at Nellore (Baptist), the Mahila Dharmavidya Mandir in Admednagar (American Board) and the Blackstone Missionary Institute in Muttra (Methodist Episcopal), the only training school for women in North India and the most advanced school in India. In addition to these regular schools, are the courses for the wives of theological students at various theological schools.

** *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay, quoted in *The Indian Social Reformer*, May 11, 1929.

sionary said, "would be strengthened if it were presented as part of the world-wide effort to help those in need and to bring in the Kingdom of God."

THE TASK OF READJUSTMENT

The missionary enterprise for women in India today faces a difficult task. The changing world in which the Indian woman lives makes heavy demands on the missionary for readjustment. The emergence of Indian women with all that it involves has come to many women missionaries as a tremendous surprise and even a shock; as one of the pioneer women doctors in the Punjab said, "We missionaries stand appalled before the answers our prayers have brought. The first prayer I heard offered in India, after I reached this field over forty years ago, was that God would break down the walls and let the women free. The walls are broken. We did not have any idea what it would mean to India."

The most difficult readjustment in the missionary task for the future is psychological. The woman missionary must reorient herself in her conception of Indian women to the idea that a growing minority of non-Christian women are no longer depressed and without leadership. The affectionate maternalism of the past must give way to the recognition of the capacity of Indian women to assume larger positions of responsibility. The major task of the missionary lies in promoting this Indian leadership, in order that the foreign worker herself may be replaced. Devolution in the women's field is inevitably slower than in the general field, because of the more recent development of Indian women and the less favorable social conditions. But an aggressive policy of devolution and a complete mental acceptance of its desirability would bring it to pass.

An effective means of accomplishing this process of devolution would be a plan of scholarship for study in America or elsewhere, given to carefully selected students of maturity and experience. The success of the plan would depend largely on the careful guidance of the foreign student while in America. Allowing for all the inevitable loss involved in such a plan, the new results in responsible Indian women leaders would, we believe, within a period of years more than warrant the investment.

The steady replacement of foreign workers by Indian women in positions of administrative responsibility does not mean the curtailment or termination of the usefulness of women missionaries. It means rather a release for larger opportunities of service, and more abundant scope for the expression of vital Christian personality

through the direct personal contacts which make up the warp and woof of Christian influence. Such a service makes large demands for intellectual gifts, spiritual experience, and courage, needed for the spiritual adventuring in the larger missionary task of the future.

WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES IN BURMA

THE PRESENT SITUATION

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Passing from India to Burma, one is immediately impressed with the striking contrast between the women of these two countries. This initial impression is deepened by a further acquaintance with the situation. An understanding of this dissimilarity is fundamental to the evaluation of the work of Christian missions in Burma in their effect on the life of women.

There is an atmosphere of unconscious freedom in Burma. Women are everywhere in evidence—gay, charming, unrepressed. They move about freely on the streets, in the shops, in trains, theaters and at the temple festivities. The lack of marked difference between the costumes of men and women is symptomatic of the absence of sharply drawn distinctions between them.

One looks in vain in Burma for social and religious handicaps of women. Child marriage, purdah, the lonely sacrificial life of Hindu widowhood, all of which have cast their long shadows over Indian life, are unknown in Burma. There are no urgent social reforms for women, hence no distinctive woman's cause or woman's movement.

Social equality is evident in the basis of marriage. The age of marriage is from eighteen to twenty, as an average, with twenty-five years not uncommon. The equality and status of the married woman even exceed the Western standard; she keeps her own name and her property if she chooses, or she may hold property jointly with her husband. The individual home is common, as there is no joint-family system. Polygamy, though allowed, is becoming less frequent; furthermore, it ceases to be a handicap to the same extent, since women have equal privileges of divorce with men.

LACK OF WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN BURMA

The lack of any distinctive handicaps in Burma means that there has been no vital urge for social reform, no distinctive woman's prob-

lem and hence no striking evidence of social advance as in India. But women as well as men are enjoying the benefits of the slow, steady progress due to growth in education and the general development of Burma.

In contrast to India, Burma has no vanguard of active women leaders. There has been no emancipation cause to inspire Burman women to leadership. They are already across the frontiers of freedom. Several years ago the agitation for full political recognition (suffrage had already been granted, but membership in the legislative assembly was desired) brought a few Burmese women into the lime-light for a short time, but there has been on the whole no burning zeal for political participation aside from a few Western-trained women who are politically conscious. Nor has nationalism called forth any vital response among women in Burma as in India. The majority of Burman women have little concern for such issues, content in their own atmosphere of freedom.

Economic equality in Burma is a striking reality. The Burman woman is the dominating force in commercial life. Women almost invariably carry on the petty trading, have charge of shops in bazaars and temple grounds, and drive sharper bargains and are more industrious than men. They earn a large part of the family livelihood, and control the family purse. Virtually all Burman women, married or unmarried, carry on some occupation.

The general educational level in Burma is higher than in any province in India (Burma, 9.7 per cent.; Madras, one of the most advanced provinces in India, 2.1 per cent.—1921 Census).

There is less difference in Burma than in India between the number of girls and boys in schools; there are approximately only twice as many boys as girls in school in Burma, eight times as many in the Punjab, and four times as many boys as girls in school in Madras.

The education of both girls and boys along modern lines in Burma is of fairly recent date. The old Buddhist system gave the advantage of some education in the monasteries to boys, but not to girls; hence the disparity in literacy between men and women is as great as in India (in Burma, 44.8 per cent. male literates, 9.7 per cent. female; in Madras, 15.2 per cent. male to 2.1 per cent. female).

The promotion of education in Burma is free from the social handicaps of India, such as caste, which affects the general problem, the purdah and child marriage, which has retarded girls' education in India. Co-education has an unhampered field in Burma and is increasing, as is shown by the number of girls in boys' schools. This

increase is a definite index of growth in girls' education. Co-education has been generally accepted in Burma throughout the elementary field. Burmese secondary schools are for the most part separate although co-education in this field is making headway. The University College and Judson College are both open to women. For the Karens co-education has been adopted throughout the system, which doubtless explains their high educational level.

Burma shows with India the same decrease of girls in the upper grades. There is also, as in India, a need for more women teachers, although their proportion in Burma is already high; about one-third of all elementary teachers are women. There is no social lag in Burma to prevent the increase of women teachers, but since the profession is already over-stocked (1,900 teachers in 1930 were unemployed), the increase will be retarded.

RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

In contrast with India, religion has not been effective in determining the general status of women in Burma, where the population is nearly 85 per cent. Buddhist. Theoretically Buddhism does not accord to women an equal place with men; it decrees that to attain Nirvana she must be reincarnated as a man. Women are not free to discuss religion with a monk or to take part in the village *pwees* (religious dramatic performances). But these are theoretical rather than practical handicaps. Women go in crowds to the temples and religious festivals, assume the responsibility for training the children, play a large part in maintaining the monks and apparently have a consciousness of sharing vitally in religious observances. Buddhism as a whole has contributed a distinctive social quality to life for the Buddhist woman, free from any repressive influences of religion. As in India it has called forth a mild, sustained devotion to religion rather than the intensely sacrificial spirit characteristic of the Indian woman's religious response.

Burman women of the Christian community, a minority of Burmese and practically the entire Karen population, play a very important rôle in the church. They have equality in church positions, participate actively in the promotion of the general church programs, are very active in their own societies, and to a large extent maintain their own paid leadership among women. Their interpretation of religion is largely evangelistic. Christian women, Burmese and Karen alike, have on the whole little interest or concern in social issues and national affairs.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MISSION PROGRAM TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOMEN OF BURMA

In comparison with mission work in India the mission program in Burma has had the very great advantage of being able to build on the basis of the accepted equality of women with men. There has been no distinctive social-religious lag to overcome, aside from a certain conservatism in regard to women which is characteristic of the Orient as a whole.

The contribution of mission effort to the development of the women in Burma has been differentiated between work for the Karens and the Burmese. This division is very marked in educational and religious work, but not in the medical service.

The greatest contribution in Burma, as perhaps also in India, has been in the field of education. The high literacy of the Christian population gives evidence of the signal achievement of missions. The literacy of Christian women is 28 per cent., general literacy of women is 9.7 per cent. (1921).^{*} Education for Christian girls is practically non-existent outside of mission schools. In fact, education for girls as a whole in Burma is still largely mission education. There are 15,700 girls out of 34,000 in mission schools.^{**}

The contribution of missions to high-school education for girls is even more impressive; twenty of twenty-three girls' high schools in Burma are under missions; nine high schools out of ten are in mission institutions. Mission schools for girls, like the Mandalay High School (Baptist), Kemmendine (Baptist) and the Shattuck Memorial (Methodist) and the Morton Lane High School (Baptist), represent the foundation of the present Government system which has existed ever since 1921. The splendid system of Karen schools deserves special comment because of the successful demonstration of co-education, but more especially because of the fact that these schools are maintained independently by the Karens with the coöperation of foreign workers. Although the Karens have assumed the financial

^{*} Comparison of literacy of Christian and Buddhist women in Burma is a significant indication of the mission educational work for women. Percentage of literacy to whole female population is: Christian, 28; Buddhist, 10.

^{**} Proportion of mission education for girls to the total education for girls (1926-27):

	<i>Per Cent. of Mission Schools to Total Number of Schools</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Enrollment in Mission Schools to Total Enrollment</i>
Primary	5	6
Middle	39	44
High	87	92
Teacher Training	17	43

R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, Vol. II.

support of their schools, the transfer of complete control has been retarded by the lack of trained leaders.

There is no question of the need for the continuation of mission education for girls in Burma. There is need, however, for changes in emphasis and a general improvement in the standard of mission schools for girls. To quote from the Chief Inspectress of Schools in Burma, an Englishwoman: "Missions will be needed for a long time; in fact, the burden of education for girls rests on them. But certain changes should be made."

Mission schools for girls have followed the same general lines of development in Burma as in India. In both countries one cannot fail to be impressed with the splendid standard of mission institutions for girls along conventional lines. There is no doubt that mission institutions have distinctive values in atmosphere, ordered discipline, intimate personal contact with fine missionary personalities. But, admitting these excellent qualities, mission schools in Burma and India alike have settled into the routine of meeting Government requirements, and are making no distinctive educational contribution. There is a lack of experimentation in method, an absence of creative originality in developing the content of education, too little emphasis on extra-curricular activities and on vital character-forming religious education. The danger of Westernization is evident in the large imposing buildings and the lack of contact with the life of Burma and its characteristic values. Vocational training receives little or no attention in the distinctly academic program which is directed toward higher education. There is little consciousness of rural needs; the whole trend of the schools is away from village life. The English inspectress in analyzing the situation stresses the need for more practical emphasis, more attention to the vernacular and to village education. Mission schools should also develop more co-educational schools for Burmese girls, thus contributing effectively to the major educational problem in Burma. The mission schools in Burma, as in India, are faced with the same problem of the paucity of trained women leaders to replace foreign leaders in administrative positions. Devolution must be the objective, but can only be achieved as leadership training is emphasized.

MISSION HEALTH SERVICE

In striking contrast to India, missions have given very little attention to the health needs of women and children or to the medical program as a whole. There has been no urgent demand for a woman's medical service for women, as in India, where the seclusion of women

necessitated such a separate service. The Methodist Mission has no hospital work, but does some practical village health work as carried on by missionaries without medical training and as a part of the evangelistic program. The Baptist Mission has one woman's hospital, the Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital in Bassein, a mission dispensary and small village program of health and evangelism for women in Mandalay, a small tubercular Preventorium at Tounggyi for girls,—the only thing of its kind in Burma,—and a general hospital at Namkhan, the Harper Memorial Hospital, and also a small dispensary hospital in the Shan States. In addition the medical program of the Methodists and Baptists, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has a hospital at Mandalay.

The hospitals in Bassein and Namkhan carry on effective training of nurses. The widespread influence of the Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital in Bassein is shown by the fact that the 1931 record shows nurses in training from twenty different places, and patients from twenty-eight.

Health education in schools has not been aggressively promoted. A Government health official makes the comment that "Schools could and should have a much greater interest in health programs; they have not sufficiently emphasized social work in schools as a means of social service. Rural health conditions have scarcely been touched by mission effort, although this field does not present difficulties in development such as are characteristic of rural work in India; for example, castes and general social conditions. The latter, as has been shown in the discussion under India, make it almost impossible to secure young women for village work.

The lack of a strong medical program in Burma is due to the concentrated emphasis on evangelism which has precluded the idea of the ministry of healing save as a means to an end. Many missionaries feel that no funds should be diverted from the central evangelistic aim. This attitude has greatly hampered the mission hospitals in their development.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL NEEDS

The social message of Christianity has been practically omitted from the mission program in Burma. There are no social welfare projects; there is no emphasis in schools and colleges on social work as a field for service and no consideration of social questions. The term Christian as applied to workers is reserved for those who are engaged in evangelism. The idea of Girl-Guiding as a possible field for Christian service seemed entirely foreign to all but one member

of a group of Christian Karen teachers. The right of the Y.W.C.A. to use the word Christian in the name was questioned by another group because the program is largely social. The prevailing idea was that only preaching the word can be considered as Christian service.

The few social movements like the Rangoon Vigilance Society have received little support from mission groups as a whole. Only a few individual missionaries are keenly aware of the need for the application of Christ's principles.

Industrial problems also have not come within the purview of missions. Burma has not yet been caught in the pressure of vigorous industrialism; the conditions of women and children in industry do not yet create serious evils as in other countries which are more industrialized. But the contacts of Burma with the world are growing and the exposure to modern industrial organization seems inevitable. Christian missions must include the awareness of social and industrial problems within their task. That this fact is appreciated by at least a few is shown by the statement of a Burmese Christian, "We should have a definite program demonstrating to the people that Jesus Christ and Christianity can endow the nation with a higher, richer life. We should emphasize economic and social living; mere preaching is not enough; there should be more emphasis on relating preaching to life."

RELIGIOUS NEEDS

Obviously, with such a strong emphasis on evangelism, the religious program for women has been given much attention. The activities of Burmese and Karen women in church life and in their local and national societies, their participation on terms of equality in church councils and conferences, show how effectively the women missionaries have worked in developing very strong religiously conscious women leaders in the Christian church.*

Aside from the development of lay leadership, the training and supervision of Bible Women has been regarded as a major part of the mission program. Burma has had a distinct advantage over India in the higher educational level of women and the freedom from restrictive social customs. The Bible Women are for the most part young, often very attractive, unmarried women. Two young Bible Women living alone in a large town working out from this into neighboring villages, present a typical picture of the opportunities for the work of Bible Women in Burma—strikingly different from the work in India.

* See Fact-Finders' Reports, *India-Burma*, Ruth F. Woodsmall, *in loco*.

In some places the Bible Women include in their work simple medical service or education. They also work with women's societies and in general church activities. But whatever the program, the primary motive is evangelism.

The training of Bible Women is provided in three separate schools, two Baptist, a Karen and a Burmese school in Rangoon, and one Methodist school coördinated with the Men's Theological School in Thongwa.

An attempt is being made to raise the standard of entrance requirement from the third or fourth year of school to the seventh. A higher course of training especially for college girls or the equivalent is being developed in connection with the Baptist Seminary for men at Insein. The training courses for Bible Women are too narrowly evangelistic; they should include practical work in health and social welfare. Union of Bible-training effort should be effected between the Methodist and Baptist schools. A very commendable feature of the Bible Women's program is the financial support of the Karen Bible Women by the Karen church. No subsidy from America will be accepted for the support of a Bible Woman.

As a result of the lack of a social message and narrow emphasis on the evangelistic program in the churches of Burma, many young people have been alienated from religion. Missionaries and Burman leaders alike complain of the fact that after students leave the automatic church-going period of the mission school, many take no further interest in church life. "College students turn away from Christianity; the church has little effect on their lives," is a characteristic comment.

A strong counter-movement to this tendency is that of the Gospel Teams. These are composed of young men and women college students. They carry an aggressive revival movement for personal evangelism. The Gospel Team tour in India in 1931 left a deep impression, very largely because of the complete equality of young men and women in the group and the normal basis of partnership.

Opinions in Burma differ as to the value of the Gospel Teams. Some missionaries criticize them severely because of their highly emotional quality and intense subjectivity, their tendency to develop insincerity through constant personal witness, their danger of engendering a religious superiority complex, their general disrupting effect on student life, and above all else their disregard of the Social Gospel. Other missionaries, probably the larger majority, endorse the Gospel Team as a revitalizing factor of evangelism of great power, because directed by youth and committed to the spiritual regenera-

tion of the individual. They consider that this must precede the social message. The Gospel Teams, whatever may be the estimate of their value, reflect clearly the dominant religious mood of Burma, centered in evangelism and almost devoid of social consciousness.

The general impression of the mission movement for women in Burma is that it has remarkable advantages over work in India. Certain lines of effort, hitherto neglected, should receive more attention—namely, rural welfare and social service. The present situation offers opportunities for enlarging the scope and effectiveness of the mission program in Burma. This must come through a more inclusive presentation of the Christian message.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES IN INDIA AND BURMA

1. *Education*

(a) It is recommended for India and Burma that education for women continue to receive the support of mission bodies with the objective of improving the quality of existing institutions rather than increasing the number of schools and colleges.

(b) It is recommended for India that the training of women teachers, of both lower and higher grades, be given special attention.

(c) It is recommended that Christian secondary schools in India and Burma for girls introduce more elasticity of curriculum emphasizing (1) vocational training and home science centered in the life situation of the student, (2) experimentation of method, offering more scope for extra-curricula activities, (3) more appreciation of the cultural values of India, and (4) closer contact with the general community, in order that the Christian schools may be more intimately related to life.

(d) It is recommended that greater attention be given in girls' schools and colleges in India and Burma to the development of a more vital religious education program planned with insight and imagination for the building of Christian character, and that trained leaders of inspiring personality be secured to direct the program.

2. *Social and Industrial*

It is recommended that the missionary program for women include in its program:

(a) More emphasis on social service and the provision of facilities for training in social work.

(b) A more vital interest in social and industrial conditions affecting women and children.

(c) A consideration of the social and moral needs of youth in the present period of social change, and some provision for normal social relationships for young people through church and community centers.

3. *Health*

(a) It is recommended that the mission medical service stress preventive medicine and health welfare, especially for women and children; and a more close coördination of Christian hospitals and Christian schools in the promotion of health education, and social hygiene.

(b) It is recommended that in India, general nursing in mission hospitals be encouraged, that is, the nursing of men and women patients; and that the nurses' training courses should give due emphasis to those forms of nursing service, so necessary for the welfare of Indian women and children: child welfare, prenatal work, health centers, etc. The present tendency emphasizes, too exclusively, general surgical cases.

4. *Religion*

It is recommended that the training of women for religious work include:

(a) The training of two types of full-time workers: the general religious work for a combined program of religious and social work in the church, community and home; specialists in religious education as teachers or supervisors in schools and churches.

(b) The training of lay workers for volunteer service for various lines of church work, supplementing the full-time paid workers.

5. *Rural Needs*

It is recommended that the mission program in India and Burma give more concentrated attention to the needs of women in rural life—in education, health, economic and social improvement and religious nurture.

(a) Through an emphasis on welfare work for village women in all rural reconstruction projects.

(b) Through the presentation, to women students in Christian institutions, of the needs and opportunities for rural service.

(c) Through the inclusion of women leaders in the planning of all rural welfare programs.

6. *Special Emphases*

(a) It is recommended that missionaries in India and Burma especially fitted by training, experience and personality for coöperation and contact with civic and national movements, and especially with non-Christian leaders, be given sufficient freedom from routine institutional work to allow time for this type of distinctive service.

(b) It is recommended that in order to prepare women in India and Burma for positions of leadership, scholarships be established for study abroad in America or elsewhere for women students, preferably of experience and maturity, and that these students be given educational and social guidance during the period of foreign study.

(c) It is recommended that the presentation of Christianity to India and Burma be based on the positive values of Christianity rather than on the negative weaknesses of non-Christian religions. While applicable also to Burma, this recommendation has a special bearing on India.

COLLATERAL DATA

Excerpts from "Women's Interests and Activities in India," Fact-Finders' Reports, Ruth F. Woodsmall.

CHILD MARRIAGE

The Sarda Act

The Child Marriage Restraint Act commonly known as the Sarda Act, April, 1930, which legally terminated the time-honored custom of child marriage, represents the culmination of reforms begun in 1891. By this Act the minimum marriage age for females is established at fourteen; for males, at eighteen. The need for such legislation is shown by the terrible extent of child marriage. Over eight and one-half million girls, or one-half of the girls of India, are married before they are fifteen years of age. This includes one and one-half million Moslem girls. More than two hundred thousand are under five years, over two million are between five and ten years, and over six million are between ten and fifteen years of age.¹

Before the Sarda Act was passed, the Age of Consent Commission, through a nation-wide referendum, registered the widespread recognition of the evil of child marriage and especially the universal endorsement of the law by women.² The tenacity with which this custom has gripped Indian mentality was evidenced by the widespread wish to perform such marriages when the Act was being framed, and just before it became operative.

Since the Sarda Act was not implemented for enforcement, it is freely violated. This is a matter of deep concern to Indian women. The All-India Conference at Lahore passed a recommendation urging an active program of law enforcement.³ The Government is freely criticized for its neutral attitude in the Indian press.⁴ Although the Sarda Act has not eradicated the practice of child marriage, it serves as a powerful leverage for educating public opinion and arming the progressive younger generation with a legal weapon against rigidly orthodox Hinduism.

Christian missions have exerted an imperceptible but steady force against child marriage through the promotion of girls' schools and through the contact of women missionaries with zenana homes. Their influence is now focused on enforcement of the Sarda Marriage Act.

¹ 1921 Census, "Review of the Growth of Education in British India," by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, October, 1929 (Hartog Report), p. 153.

² See *Report of the Age of Consent Committee, 1928-1929*, (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publications Branch, 1929).

³ All-India Women's Conference, Lahore, January 12-19, 1931—Resolutions.

⁴ Cf. *Calcutta Statesman*, April 5, 1931.

STATUS OF WIDOWS

India has held the world's record for the number of widows, because of child marriage and the rigid prohibition against the remarriage of widows. This record will not be modified probably for another generation, since the wholesale marriages caused by the Sarda Act will produce a new crop. The number of Hindu widows who, because of child marriages, have not yet reached puberty, is appalling. The 1921 Census, under religions, gives a total of over twenty million Hindus of both sexes. There were 750 under one year, 15,000 under five years, 102,000 between five and ten, and 279,000 between ten and fifteen years of age.

The tide of reform that began in 1829 with the abolition of *suttee*, or the immolation of Hindu widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, as well as the practice of infanticide, is gradually, though slowly, modifying the condition of Hindu women. Nevertheless, as one watches the throng of coarsely robed widows, with *saris* drawn closely over their shaven heads, making the rounds of the temples at Brindaban, or bathing at Benares in the cold dawn, one has only the impression of the tragedy of Hindu widowhood. But a visit to Sister Subbalakshmi's Widows' Home in Madras lightens the picture. Institutions like this, following the pioneer example of Pandita Ramabai at Kedgaon, and many widows' homes under Christian missions, are preparing Hindu widows for economic independence so that they may cease to be helpless, ill-omened household menials.

Reforms in the status of widows are directed toward remarriage and rights of inheritance. Though for many years advanced Hindu leaders, and Hindu reform societies like the Arya Samaj, have advocated the marriage of child-widows, yet the tradition against remarriage, which was legalized in 1856, is still strong. The primary motivation of such reforms is a revolt against the injustice of orthodox Hinduism; as expressed by Mr. Sarda: "Widow remarriage should become as general as widower remarriage at present is. If marriage is a sacrament and can be performed only once in life, why is a widower allowed to perform it a second, a third, or a fourth time when a widow is not so allowed."⁵

Another reform in behalf of Hindu widows is the agitation for inheritance rights, since legally a Hindu widow inherits nothing. Even though a will may insure her rights during her lifetime, under the Hindu joint-family system she does not have full possession of her property.⁶ Legislation is recognized as urgently needed. The Hindu Widows' Right of Inheritance Bill introduced in September, 1928, in the Central Legislature by Mr. Sarda was not passed. If inheritance rights were sustained by law, the terrible tragedy of widowhood would be partly mitigated. The All-India Conference has been very articulate in the support of all measures leading toward the amelioration of the calamity of Hindu widowhood. Baroda has recently introduced legislative reforms in the status of widows.⁷

⁵ Sarda, H. B., "Presidential Address, Forty-second Indian National Social Conference, December, 1929," *The Indian Social Reformer* (1929), p. 273.

⁶ Jayakar, M. R., "Presidential Address, Forty-first National Social Conference."

⁷ *New York World Telegram*, from New Delhi (June 26, 1931).

EFFECT OF THE CINEMA ON CHANGING SOCIAL IDEAS

One of the influences shaping the change in social ideas, especially of the educated minority, is the cinema. As far as women are concerned, this is scarcely more than a trend, as women have only recently begun to attend the cinema. They are seen in large cities at the cinema, the more advanced attending with the men of their families, the less advanced in groups of other women. The purdah section in some theaters attracts the more conservative. Christian teachers from mission schools attend, in some places only if chaperoned by a missionary. The writer has noticed a distinct increase since 1928, when a similar study was made.

The attitude of women toward the cinema is changing in some places, now that Indian films are being produced with well-known Indian women in the leading rôles. Opinions differ as to the social effect of American films. According to some, it is negligible, the whole atmosphere being so foreign that it does not inspire imitation; others feel that films interpreting Western social freedom not only have a bad moral influence, but have a derogatory effect on American prestige. The cinema has not yet reached village people, except in the Punjab, where it has been used with remarkable effect by the Demonstration Train of the North Western Railway. Thousands of village women for the first time saw the outside world on the screen. The cinema offers unexplored opportunities like this for general educational propaganda, and especially village uplift.

Teaching of Social Hygiene

Another problem, the teaching of social hygiene, is beginning to receive some attention; and is emphasized as a necessity and an obligation devolving on missions. Furthermore, it is felt that the mission medical service has a responsibility for coöperation in schools and in the general education of the Christian community. More than half of the replies to each of the questions as to whether hospitals coöperate in social-hygiene education in schools, health education for teachers, and health lectures by hospital staffs in church groups, were in the negative.

An outstanding example of remarkably effective school health-education work by a trained nurse, is the work of Miss Fernstrom of the Methodist Mission in Baroda; also the Health Institute for Teachers and Nurses in Bareilly. A number of individual missionaries are making valuable contributions to general health education and social hygiene through the writing of pamphlets and various kinds of health literature such as Dr. Oliver's *Handbook on Sex Hygiene for Teachers*. A subcommittee of the National Christian Council is actively promoting the necessity for more emphasis on this subject.

Related to this problem is the question of birth control. General public interest in this subject is evidenced by the amount of literature and advertising. A number of active leaders in child welfare have taken a definite stand on the subject. Returns from the questionnaire on women's interests and activities emphasized the necessity for birth control. The medical committee of the Mid-India Representative Christian Council has strongly recommended that this subject should be given due consideration. "We should not wait until it is a common subject of conversation

in every Christian home before attempting to make up our minds as to what is the true Christian attitude."⁸

Tendency toward Westernization

One of the most serious issues in mission boarding-schools for girls is the problem of Westernization. The charge is often made that the mission schools tend too strongly toward Westernization in living conditions and general atmosphere, with the result that a girl brought up in a mission school from the primary grade through college becomes almost alienated from India. The Westernizing process is evident in foreign standards of living, in foreign frocks instead of *saris*, in foreign types of games and entertainments, in foreign forms of worship, in foreign music and art, in more emphasis on foreign literature than on Indian; in short, in the transfer of Western customs and patterns of thought and the total neglect of Indian customs and culture.

Attempts of Indianization

This danger of Westernization is recognized by many missionaries; consequently there is a distinct trend toward more of an Indian atmosphere in some schools. Indian girls are encouraged to wear the *sari*. Some boarding-schools are adopting a simpler type of living, more Indian in atmosphere, to offset the artificial effect of highly institutionalized Western dormitory living. The change in living is accomplished by the division of students into groups, either in separate cottages—the ideal plan as at Chittoor, Sangla Hill and Ushagram—or in families as at Sialkot and Ahmednagar. Existing buildings and the greater expense of construction of cottages prevent general adoption of the cottage system; but the family idea is a splendid step in the right direction.

Although the large majority of school entertainments and chapel services follow Western models, a number of schools are developing along Indian lines. Indian plays are acted, and festivities held in Indian style. The atmosphere of Indian worship has been conserved in schools in South India much more than in North India, as in the Vellore Medical School and the Women's Christian College.

GENERAL RECOGNITION OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH

It is hard to visualize the difference between church life in India and in America. Considering the general constituency of the Christian church in India, and the prevailing status of Indian women in relation to men, the writer was surprised to find evidences of some recognition of the importance of Indian Christian women in church life. From a study of a number of churches representing different missions of the six coöperating boards from Madura to Rawalpindi, the majority reported equal voting rights, and revealed women holding many important church positions. In the provincial Christian councils and National Christian Council women have not figured prominently, although they are not debarred from representation. This is a significant achievement of missions, for these women have developed into articulate church life through the mission schools or the influence of women evangelists.

⁸ "Social Hygiene."—Reprint from the *National Christian Council Review*, November and December, 1928, p. 19.

Women also participate in large numbers in the life of the church through various church societies and activities. All but five of the twenty-six churches answering the questionnaire reported women's societies of the usual Western type.

SPECIAL EFFORTS TO DEVELOP CHURCH LEADERSHIP

The development of women in the church is a subject to which missionaries and Indian Christian leaders are giving much careful thought. The Women's Christian Association in Madura is a fine piece of community religious service, initiated by missionaries but carried on by Indian Christians, which illustrates the development of Indian leadership in connection with the church. The Moga Women's Society in the Punjab shows how a church society may be planned on constructive educational lines that will especially interest the more educated church members. The Mothers' Union in the Anglican church is a definite means of giving church women training in Christian service.

Excerpts from "Women's Interests and Activities in Burma," Fact-Finders' Reports, Ruth F. Woodsmall.

LACK OF SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE MISSION PROGRAM

Christian missions in Burma have not envisaged social service as a definite part of the mission program. Individual missionaries have identified themselves with certain movements for social welfare outside the mission. Aside from the W.C.T.U. and the Girl Guides' movements in the schools, the writer found practically no activity with a social-service appeal.

Schools and colleges have not presented social service as a field for Christian leadership. Evangelistic teaching has not stressed the relationship between theory and application.

A comment of a college professor is harsh but pertinent: "There is no emphasis in the college on any social question or any social teaching. The whole emphasis is on evangelism without any realization of the necessity of the social application of Christ. In fact such teaching is not encouraged. We have gone in too much for the 'Talkies.'" Another comment comes from one of the women professors of the college. "There has been no encouragement for girls to take up social work. They know nothing of social conditions and do not realize the opportunities for social service. . . . Missionaries as a whole live in a narrow world." One missionary comments on the fact that "it is too early to develop social service as there are not yet enough educated people to carry it on."

A leader in the Y.W.C.A. says: "There is a lack of understanding on the part of the missions as to the use of the word 'Christian' in the larger sense . . . a feeling that the service of the Y.W.C.A. is largely social and does not have a strong Christian emphasis. This indicates that the word 'Christian' is limited to evangelism."

The Vigilance worker also comments on the limited field of missions. "Christian service has been limited to definite lines of mission work and evangelism. . . . The Christian community in Burma is, comparatively speaking, still in the beginning period; social service will develop in

time." Commenting on the need for social workers, she mentioned the fact that her appeal to Judson College to recruit future leaders in social work had not yet been answered. A prominent American in Rangoon outside the mission group spoke of the limited interests of the missions which have a very small influence on the public life. They are practically a negligible factor. "With a few exceptions, missionaries do not take an active part in general community life." This lack of mission interest in the social problems of Rangoon was explained by several people on the ground that these problems concern the foreign population rather than the Burman, and that there were as yet no real opportunities for Burmese or Karen social work.

Lack of Adaptation of Mission Schools to Environment

A tour of the different mission middle schools and high schools for girls leaves the impression of a distinctly Westernized school atmosphere. The buildings are impressive and well-administered on Western lines. There is little to suggest an adaptation to the local atmosphere. The highly institutionalized type of life in large dormitories and segregated mission compounds offers little opportunity for emphasis on life situations. Aside from a few exceptions, the idea of division of students into houses or groups has not been tried. The palatial buildings already built make the cottage system impracticable. The atmosphere, language and cultural influence are Western. There are few, if any, attempts to create a Burman atmosphere. A few missionaries, and some Burmese leaders, emphasize the urgent need for more adaptation of mission schools to the environment.

Need for Emphasis on Vernacular Education

This highly Westernized atmosphere is further accentuated by a dominant Anglo-vernacular emphasis. Miss Franklin, the inspectress of schools for Burma, strongly urged that "missions should do more in the vernacular and in coeducation." This field is well covered among the Karens. In the Henzada district there are over 150 vernacular schools. The opportunity for emphasizing the vernacular training has come to missions by force of circumstances, since the Government has assumed all Anglo-vernacular teachers' training. The transfer of the higher training schools under missions to the centralized Government institution releases missionary effort which may make possible experimentation in the elementary and rural field.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF OLDER CHRISTIAN WOMEN

The great majority of Christian women in Burma are unaffected by modern currents of religious thought. Religious life for many is bounded by the mission compound, and focused in the church. Meeting Christian women individually and in groups in different parts of Burma the writer was impressed with the simplicity and directness of their religious thoughts and experiences. There are no subtleties or uncertainties. Religion means evangelism and evangelism means soul salvation. The writer frequently canvassed opinion on the meaning of Christian service and the reply almost invariably was some form of church work. A typical expression of the idea of Christian workers was, "Those who do the Lord's will and

the work of God in love." To them the term "Christian service" means the work of Bible Women and pastors "who preach to the heathen in jungle villages."

A missionary makes an interesting comment that "after having been transferred from school work to district evangelism, one of the Burmese women said, 'Oh, now you are a missionary.'" The terms "missionary" and "evangelist" to the Burmese woman are identical.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF YOUNGER CHRISTIAN WOMEN

New trends are becoming evident in the thinking of the younger generation. When a young Karen teacher in a group of Karen women in Moulmein ventured to suggest that Girl Guiding might be Christian service, the idea seemed very foreign to the rest of the group. She maintained with conviction her point of view, "that Christian service ought to mean any expression of the Christ-like spirit, not only teaching concerning God, but trying to improve moral character. People may not recognize Guiding as Christian service but it will leave a Christian effect on girls in improving their moral character." The rest of the group dismissed her opinion as of doubtful value.

In another group of Karen women in Rangoon, the Karen Y.W.C.A. worker strongly insisted against the dissenting opinion of the group that Christian service is not limited to preaching, but that "social service offers a field for Christian leaders in which one should not always expect to preach." The dominant feeling of the group was that community service cannot be equal to evangelism, since "preaching the Word" must take precedence over everything else. The question whether Government service could be considered Christian service called forth a similar divergence of opinion between the older group and the younger. In the older women's opinion Government service could be classed as Christian only if there were opportunity to hold Bible classes and to preach, a program difficult to carry out because of Government regulations. Some younger women felt that there is a field for Christian leaders in Government service by example of Christian living but not in direct preaching. They deplored the fact that Christians have not seen the possibilities of the Christian lay worker outside the church, but have left the Government field of influence largely to Buddhists.

INDEX

INDIA-BURMA

- Achievements, 12, 13, 18, 43, 44-46, 69, 71, 127
 Acres per cultivator, 2
 Administration, 162, 163, 189, 191, 197, 203
 Agia Conference, 158
 Agriculture, 1-26, 118, 131
 Agricultural Missions, 7-20; depressed classes, 7-9; land settlements, 10, 11; question, a vital, 16-18; research, 18-20; rural re-construction, 11-18; schools and village leaders, 8, 9
 Background, 1-7; farm equipment, 5, 6; farm work, 4, 5; homes, 3, 4; increase of agriculture, 5; missionary's task, 6, 7; villages, 3
 Recommendations, 20-26
 Agriculture, collateral data, 27-35
 Ahmedabad, 39, 51, 63-67
 Aims, xvi
 Alcott, Dr. Mason, 119
 Allahabad, 73
 American Student Volunteers, 7, 8
 Andrews, C. F., 86
 Anglicists, and Orientalists, 107, 142
 Anklesvar, 9
 Anstey, Vera, 43
 Asansol, 44, 73
 Assam, 198
 Azariah, Bishop V. S., 122

 Bailey, Miss Helen L., 119
 Baptists, 72, 77, 80
 Bareilly Theo. Sem., 79
 Bengal, 107, 108, 118
 Bible training schools, 234
 Bishop of Dornakal, 122
 Boards cooperating, vii
 Bombay, 39, 46
 Brahmin, 38
 Bramo Samaj, 86
 Brown, Dr. Edith, 193
 Buddhism, 68, 129, 237, 238
 Burma, 71, 72, 77, 128-132, 236-244
 Butterfield, Dr. Kenyon L., 13, 14

 Case, Brayton C., 131
 Caste, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21, 38, 114 (*see also* outcaste)
 Catholic (*see* Roman Catholic)
 Catholicity, xvii
 Cattle, 19, 20
 Cawnpore, 37, 216
 Certainty, religious, xiii, xiv, xvi
 Change and Christianity, xii, xiii
 Chetty, Okandaswami, 87
 Christian education, meaning of, 150, 151; emphasis needed, 151
 Christian population, 71
 Christianity, xvi, xvii, 69, 74, 77, 83, 85, 87 (*see also* westernization)
 Church, xiv, xvii, 12, 14, 16-18, 42, 68-87, 201, 202; accessibility of missionaries, 82; Christian fellowship, 73; city and rural, 77; complexity of problem, 68, 69; conclusions, 86, 87; devolution, 78; different emphases, 72, 73; division and unity, 70; Islam, 83; laymen, 75, 76; music and worship, 74; mass movement, 83-85; motive of missions, 86, 87; permeation, 85; religious constituency, 71; religious education, 74, 75; self-support, 76, 77; social service, 77; some achievements, 69; training leaders, 78-82; young people, 74
 Church, collateral data, 88-105
 Cities, 36, 39, 49
 Civil Disobedience Movement, 212, 213
 Climate, 1, 36, 37
 Coimbatore, 25
 Collateral data, 27-35, 53-67, 88-105, 103-140, 164-175, 206-211, 247-253
 Colleges, Christian, 147, 148, 152, 154, 155-158, 160-163, 172, 173
 Commission of Appraisal, viii, ix, xi, 128, 160-163
 Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, 48, 81, 141, 146-148, 150-155 (*see also* collateral data)
 Congregationalists, 72, 80, 108
 Conscience Clause, 113, 127, 130, 135-140, 150, 159
 Cooperative Credit, 11

- Cooperation, xvi, 23, 25, 50, 51, 52
 Crops, 2
- Death-rates, 43
 Depressed classes, 7-11, 22, 23, 38, 83-85
 (*see also* outcastes)
 Devolution, 78, 125, 190, 191, 195
 Directors, Laymen's Inquiry, vii
 Dornakal, schools, 122, 123
 Duff, Alexander, 107, 108
- Economic(s), 37-39, 48, 170, 215-218
 Education, 106-132, 141-163; Education
 Dispatch (Wood), 143; meaning of,
 106; need of unity, 128; Western, in
 India, 107-110, 141-143
 Higher education, 141-163; background,
 141-144; Commission of Appraisal
 findings, 160-163; conscience clause,
 159; examination system, 158; recent
 studies in, 145-155; research and ex-
 tension, 158, 159; standards, 156-158;
 universities and colleges, 155, 156
 Primary and secondary, 106-132; Burma,
 128-132; heritage, 107-110; mission
 schools and government, 112, 113;
 reconstruction of mission education,
 124-128; scope and importance, 111,
 112; secondary schools, 113, 114;
 strength and weakness, 114, 115;
 trends, 116-123
 Protestant, 111, 112
 Education, collateral data, 133-140, 164-
 175
 English language, place of, 107-110, 142
 Evangelization, 73, 81, 83-86; in colleges,
 152, 154; in hospitals, 178-180; in
 lower schools, 126, 127, 131, 132 (*see*
 also proselytization)
 Ewing College, 155, 165, 166
- Fact-Finders' reports, ix, 24, 50, 76, 77,
 220, 223, 225, 227 (*see also* collateral
 data)
 Factories, location of, 37
 Factory, employees, 36
 Faith, xvi, xvii
 Family, 4, 37, 217
 Farm work, 4, 5
 Farms, average size of, 2
 Fatalism, 39, 42
 Finance, 20, 46, 48, 52, 76, 77, 111-114,
 117, 123, 127, 131, 148, 158, 159, 161,
 187, 190, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 204,
 205
 Forman Christian College, 18, 166, 167
- Fragmentation, 5
Fraser Commission, 122
 Friendship, xvi, 86
- Gandhi, 40, 178, 212, 222
 Ghaziabad, 76
 Gokhale, G. K., 47
 Gospel Team, 81, 131, 132, 243, 244
 Government, 15, 18-20, 38, 50, 68, 107, 110,
 112, 113, 117, 127, 131, 136, 142, 143,
 144, 145, 180, 184, 185, 186, 187, 193,
 195, 230, 239
 Grants-in-aid, 111, 112, 143, 148, 156, 197,
 200 (*see also* self-support)
- Harper, Dr. and Mrs. A. E., 119
Hartog Report, 116-118, 146
 Hatch, Dr. D. Spencer, 12
 Heffkine Institute, 218
 Herrnhut, 159
 Hindu, population, 71
 Hinduism, 12, 13, 38, 39, 68, 77, 222, 234
 Holy man, ideal of, 82
 Home Base, 189
 Homes, 3, 4
 Hospitals, mission, 181-184; government,
 184-187; others, 186
 Housing conditions, 39, 40, 216
- Illiteracy, 76, 110, 218, 231
 Indian values, 85, 86, 149, 150
 Indianization (*see* devolution)
 Industrial development, 7, 36, 39, 40
 Industrial schools, 9, 44, 45
 Industry, 36-52; Christian contribution,
 40-46, other agencies, 47; conclusion,
 52; environmental factors, 36-39;
 larger programs, 47-50; recommenda-
 tions, 50, 51; western contact and in-
 dustrial growth, 39, 40; women in,
 215-218
 Industry, collateral data, 53-67
 Infant mortality, 218
 Ingraham Bible School, 76, 80
 Inscin, Theological Schools, 80
 Institute of Social and Religious Re-
 search, ix
 International Missionary Council, 159
 Irrigation, 2, 7, 10
 Islam, 39, 68, 71, 83, 85, 213, 214, 218,
 222, 234
- Jain population, 71
 Jamshedpur, 47
 Jewish population, 71
 Joint-family system, 37, 214

- Jones, Dr. E. Stanley, 86
 Jubbulpore, 79
 Judson College, 155, 168, 169
- Karens, 77, 129, 130, 131
 Kemmendine, 129
 Kingdom of God, 41, 42, 43, 50, 86, 222
 Kolar, 73
 Kshatriya, 38
- Labor unions, 50, 51, 216
 Land settlements, 10, 11
 Land system, 38, 39
 Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, viii, ix, x
 Leaders, training of, 78-82
 Libraries, 6, 73, 121, 157
 Literacy, 110, 219
 Living conditions, of industrial workers, 39, 40, 216
 Lucknow Christian College, 156, 169, 170
 Ludhiana, 193, 197
- Ma Saw Sa, Dr., 128
 Macaulay, 108
 MacDonald, Ramsay, 108
 Madras, 39, 216
 Madras Christian College, 157
 Madura Mission, 108, 109
 Marathi Mission, 45, 46, 116, 232
 Martandam, 12
 Mass Movement, 22, 83-85
 Mayhew, Sir Arthur, 145, 146, 148-150
 Medical Association, Christian, 176, 188, 189, 194, 200
 Medical work, 176-205
 Introduction (India and China), 176-184; Government and other agencies, 184-187
 Problems of medical missions, 187-203; colleges for men, 194-196; colleges for women, 197; education, 191-197; finance, 200, 201; home base, 189; hospital types, 189, 190; midwives, 199; mission medical schools, 193, 194; nationals, 190, 191; new work, 202, 203; nursing, 198, 199; organization, 189; personnel, 187-189; relation to church, 201, 202
 Recommendations, 203-205
 Medical work, collateral data, 206-211
 Methodists, 70, 73, 77, 79, 80, 225
 Migration, 10, 11
 Mill, household, 3, 4
 Miraj, 193
- Missionaries, accessibility of, 82
 Missionary Research Library, ix
 Missionary's task, rural, 6, 7
 Missions, motive of, 86, 87 (*see also* evangelism)
 Moga, 75, 119, 146, 230
 Mohammedan (*see* Islam)
 Monsoons, 1
 Montagu-Chelmsford, 145
 Moomaw, I. W., 9
 Moslem, (*see* Islam)
- Nagpada Neighborhood House, 46, 223
 Nagpur Conference, 17, 18
 National Christian Council, 17, 70, 74, 125, 155, 188
 Nurture, Christian (*see* religious education)
- Oaten, Prof. E. F., 109, 110
 Objectives, xvii, 12, 24, 177, 178
 Omissions, xii
 Ongole, 119
 Outcastes, 7-11, 14, 16, 21-23, 38, 49, 76, 77
- Parsis, 47, 71
 Pasumalai, Theo. Sem., 80
 Paul, K. T., 11, 13
 Personnel, 41, 82, 86, 162, 182-184
 Petty, Orville A., Editor, xii
 Pickett, Dr. J. W., 84
 Pioneering, xvii, 68, 79, 81, 127, 128, 154
 Population, 2
 Poultry, 8
 Poverty, 76
 Preaching, 16, 73, 81, 131, 242
 Presbyterians, 73, 79, 193
 Progressive schools, examples of, 119-122, 239
 Proselytization, 69, 127, 178-180
 Purdah, 214, 216, 225, 236
 Pynmana, 130, 131
- Ramapatnam, Theo. Sem., 80
 Rang Mahall High School, 121
 Readjustment, 235
 Recommendations, xi; agriculture, 20-26; industry, 50-52; education, 160-163; medical, 203-205; women's interests, 244-246
 Recreation, 6, 118, 219, 224
 Reddi, Dr. Muthulakshmi, 69
 Reformed Church, 70, 73, 80, 223, 231
 Regional Reports, ix, xi, xii

- Religions, 71
 Religious education, 74, 75, 115
 Religious freedom, 159
Report of Commission of Appraisal (Re-Thinking Missions), ix, x, xii, xv, xvi, xvii, 78, 160-163, 212
 Research, 18-20, 21, 48, 49, 52
 Roberts, Miss S. A., 119
 Roman Catholics, 71, 192
 Roots, Bishop Logan, xvi
 Roy, Ram Mohan, 142, 144
Royal Commission on Labour in India, 58-63
 Rural Life Improvement Association, 17
 Rural Reconstruction, 11-18, 23-26

Sadler Commission, 144
 Saharanpur, Theo. Sem., 79
 Salaries, disparity of, 125, 191
 Sangli, 73
 Sarda Act, 213, 214, 215
 School of Economic, Industrial and Social Research, 48, 49
 Self-support, 76, 77, 201
 Serampore, Theo. Sem., 79
 Servants of India Society, 47, 51, 77
 Seva Sadan, 47, 216
 Sikhs, 71
 Social Service, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 72, 77, 223, 224, 241, 242
 Social workers, training Indian, 49
 Speers, Prof. Carter, 18
 Standards of living, 7, 42, 217
 Stock breeding, 19, 20
 Sunday Schools (*see* religious education)
 Sudra, 38
 Supervision, 125, 126
 Syrian Christians, 71

 Theological Seminaries, 79-82
 Theology, xv, xvi
 Tools, farm, 5

 Union Theological College (Poona), 80
 United Presbyterians, 72

 United Theological College (Bangalore), 79
 Universities, affiliated and unitary, 144, 155
 Ushagram, 44, 45

 Van Doren, Miss Alice, 119, 124
 Vellore, 73, 193, 197, 204, 223, 226
 Vellore Theo. Sem., 80
 Vernacular, 9, 79, 80, 107, 109, 113, 118, 128
 Vigilance Societies, 215
 Village crafts, 6, 40
 Villages, 3-7, 14, 16-18, 23, 24-26, 217; buildings, 3

 Wanless, Dr. W. G., 193
 Welfare Work (*see* social service)
 Westernization, 6, 26, 41, 42, 43, 78, 82, 106, 107-109, 124, 130, 144, 145, 161, 162, 202, 222, 228, 229
Whitley Commission, 224
 Widows, 214
 Wilson College, 49
 Women's Interests, 212-216
 Mission Efforts; education, 226-232, 239, 240; health, 224-226, 240, 241; needs, social and industrial, 223, 224, 241, 242; readjustment, 235; religious work, 232-234, 242-244
 Present Situation; economic, 215-218; educational, 219-221; health, 218, 219; religious trends, 221, 222; social changes, 212-215, 236
 Recommendations, 244-246
 Women's Interests, collateral data, 247-253
 Worship, 74

 Young people, 74
 Y. M. C. A., 11-14, 24, 25, 51, 224
 Y. W. C. A., 51, 219, 224, 242

 Zemindar, 39
 Zenana, 225

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